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D. MANUEL JOSEF DE AYALA Y LA HISTORIA DE NUESTRA LEGISLACION DE INDIAS

I. VALOR DE LA RECOPILACION DE 1680

La historia de nuestra legislación de Indias no cristaliza en la Recopilación de 1680. Quien solo conozca nuestras instituciones coloniales a través de las disposiciones en ella contenidas, no logrará alcanzar mas que una visión por demás incompleta de la materia. Ni aun refiriéndola exclusivamente al momento de su promulgación puede sostenerse que comprende todo el derecho positivo vigente entonces en nuestros territorios coloniales, porque dejando a un lado todo un orden de derecho nacido de fuentes que venían funcionando al margen del legislador-costumbre, jurisprudencia—siempre queda el hecho de existir importantes instituciones de nuestra vida colonial regidas por ordenanzas y otros nucleos de leyes no recopiladas y que sin embargo son ratificadas de una manera expresa. Por otra parte, antes de 1680 existieron otras recopilaciones de nuestro derecho indiano recogidas solo en parte en la Recopilación promulgada en tiempos de Carlos II; y después de esta Recopilación, se registran en la historia de nuestras instituciones coloniales importantísimas reformas legislativas, singularmente de caracter administrativo y político, que hicieron perder a aquella su virtualidad para seguir rigiendo el nuevo estado de cosas. A tal punto que ya Carlos III, según atestigua Beleña, hubo de pensar en la necesidad de una nueva recopilación y aunque no consiguió ver realizados sus propósitos, a partir de esta época se repiten incesantemente los intentos, poniendo así manifiesto la necesidad de la reforma.

No es nuestro propósito hacer ahora la historia detallada de todas estas recopilaciones promulgadas unas y fracasadas en su iniciación las mas. Esta labor ha sido llevada a efecto por el profesor D. Rafael Altamira y ha de ser dada a conocer en obra próxima a publicarse. Las anteriores consideraciones sirven solo como precedente necesario para situar históricamente la obra de D. Manuel Josef de Ayala a fin de que pueda apreciarse mejor el doble valor que ofrece.

II. LA OBRA DE AYALA Y LOS INTENTOS DE REFORMA LEGISLATIVA DEL SIGLO XVIII

D. Manuel Josef de Ayala, natural del Panamá Archivero del Despacho de aquella Audiencia y más tarde del Consejo de S. M. en el Supremo de las Indias, fué nombrado miembro de una de las Juntas que hubo de formarse a fines del siglo XVIII con el encargo de reformar la Recopilación de 1680. Cuando Ayala fué distinguido con tan elevado nombramiento había acreditado sobradamente su competencia en estas cuestiones con su obra Consultas y Pareceres a S. M. en asuntos de Gobierno de Indias—obra escrita en 1765–1776 y de la que nos ocuparémos más adelante. Pero a pesar de la excepcional actividad que desplegó en el ejercicio de su nuevo cargo la reforma proyectada quedó, como las veces anteriores, sin realización y la Recopilación de 1680, no obstante su manifiesta insuficiencia, continuó vigente mientras duró nuestro imperio colonial.

Sin embargo, el esfuerzo realizado entonces por Ayala, no puede considerarse como completamente esteril, pues aunque su obra quedara sin terminar, la documentación que a este efecto aportó, constituye hoy una de las fuentes más valiosas que pueden utilizarse para el estudio histórico de nuestras instituciones coloniales, sirviendo, de un lado, para trazar la que pudieramos llamar historia externa de nuestro derecho indiano—Recopilaciones que en ella se registran de caracter general y especial, privadas y públicas, intentos de recopilación, etc.—y de otro, para

reconstituir el cuadro de las instituciones vigentes en los últimos tiempos de nuestro imperio colonial, pudiendo apreciarse en él cuales de ellas podían considerarse únicamente como viviendo en la ley sin arraigo en la costumbre, así como los anhelos de reforma que palpitaban en el ambiente, sentidos por hombre, que preveían la inminencia de nuestro definitivo fracaso.

Pasemos pues a ocuparnos de cada una de las obras de Ayala que hemos tenido ocasión de examinar. El proprio autor las enumera en un Yndice del Diccionario de Gobierno, y Legislacion de Indias, y España, Norte de los acertados Actos positivos de la Experiencia. Comprehende no solo la Nomenclatura de los Decretos, Consultas, Cedulas, Reglamentos, Reales Ordenes, y Oficios, sino en Compendio, o Extracto, los Casos, y Resoluciones en cada Materia a que se contrahe la Voz, como se demuestra aqui desde la Pagina 42, y 44 en adelante. Por D. Manuel Josef de Ayala, del Consejo de S. M. en el Supremo de las Indias, Caballero de la Real y Distinguida Orden de Carlos III.—Madrid, en la imprenta de Sancha, año de MDCCXII.

Este Yndice que como se ve por su título hace referencia a una de las obras de Ayala—su Diccionario de Gobierno y Legislacion de Indias y España—constituye una demostracion—son sus palabras—de los trabajos realizados por su autor. En él se contienen, ademas de una lista de todas las palabras sobre las que versa el Diccionario de referencia, algunos ejemplos que demuestran el método seguido en la exposición del resultado de sus investigaciones y una enumeración de conjunto de todo el material reunido. Dice así el propio autor:

 mos de sus citas marginales; explicado las voces, con que estan vestidas algunas leyes, y no se hallan en los Diccionarios; y añadido la concordancia con las de Castilla, Partida, Fuero, y Ordenamiento; y con las Ordenanzas del Exército, y Armada: de modo que esta obra es la Historia de la Legislación Indiana.

Tiene tambien 52 tomos en folio con el titulo de Miscelanea, y uno de Indice General: Comprehensivos de Discursos, Descripciones, Derroteros, Proyectos, etc. de todas materias, para el complemento de noticias; demostrando en el Prospecto el contenido individual de cada pieza, para que si se repitiere (con engaño) como nuevos, mirandose luego, no molesten, y quiten el tiempo a los Ministerios.

Finalmente: tiene treinta tomos sueltos de varias actas, y materias asi Eclesiasticas, como Politicas, Economicas, y Historiales.

Luego al final hay una nota que dice así:

El total de estas obras son doscientos veinte y cinco tomos manuscritos, hasta el presente año de mil setecientos noventa y dos.

De todas estas obras que Fabié en su *Ensayo Histórico* las consideraba como perdidas, hemos podido encontrar nosotros las siguientes:

- 1°.—El Diccionario constituido por veintiseis tomos manuscritos que se hallan en nuestro Archivo Histórico Nacional bajo la signaturas 726 b. a 751 b. Sin embargo, conviene advertir, que en este Diccionario apenas se encuentran la mitad de las palabras que figuran en el Indice impreso, según se demuestra con la comprobación que al final de este trabajo ofrecemos; no hemos podido averiguar, si es que está incompleto el ejemplar del Archivo o es que se hizo el Indice con anterioridad a la Obra y luego esta se ajustó a un plan distinto.
- 2°.—Cuarenta y dos tomos de Cedulas Reales que figuran en el propio Archivo bajo la signatura 684 a 725 de los cuales están sacados los extractos que constituyen el Diccionario. Esta Colección está incompleta, pero puede reconstituirse con la igual que se halla en la Biblioteca Real aunque tambien incompleta; existen algunos tomos repetidos lo que prueba que se hicieron varias copias.

3°.—La titulada "Consultas y Pareceres a S. M. en asuntos de gobierno de Indias, recopiladas a manera de Abecedario por D. Manuel Jose de Ayala natural de Panamá Archivero del Despacho de ellas. Dedicado al Consejo y Cámara de Indias. . . .

. Año de 1765 y siguiente". El tomo XII lleva la fecha de 1776. Esta Colección se encuentra tambien en nuestro Archivo Histórico Nacional bajo la signatura 752 y sigs. El primer volumen que se conserva, dice en el tejuelo: "Tomo segundo". ¿Cual es el primero? Es esta cuestión que no hemos podido resolver. A pesar de lo que dice la portada, no tiene de alfabético mas que los índices de los tomos y ni aun los de todos ellos.

4°.—Un ejemplar de la Recopilación de Leyes de Indias de 1680, (edición de 1774) que se encuentra en la Biblioteca de la Sociedad Económico de Amigos del Pais de Sevilla, con abundantísimas notas marginales en las que se hace la historia de cada Lev, se rectifican errores de citas, se marcan las reformas que deben introducirse etc. etc. Es una obra que ofrece un interés extraordinario. Se trata de una impresión especial que debió hacerse para este efecto, pues la tirada general de la edición de 1774 consta de cuatro tomos y este ejemplar tiene ocho. Debieron hacerse varias copias, porque en la sección de manuscritos de nuestra Biblioteca Nacional hay otro ejemplar idéntico al de Sevilla, y del que solo se conserva el tomo primero. Tambien se encuentra otro ejemplar corriente de la edición de las Leyes de Indias de 1774 con notas marginales manuscritas copiadas de la anterior; pero solo llegan hasta el tomo segundo, y además se prescinde de gran número de ellas.

Por último, en la Biblioteca Real, hemos tenido ocasión de examinar un ejemplar manuscrito de la citada Recopilación de Leyes de Indias de 1680 titulado "Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias: su origen ilustración y estado presente.—año de 1787." Este manuscrito aparece firmado por D. José Manuel de Ayala y contiene muchas notas marginales idénticas a las contenidas en el ejemplar de Sevilla. Indudablemente se trata del original que sirvió de base a todas las otras copias que quedan reseñadas; pero consta solo de seis tomos y alcanza únicamente hasta la ley 47 tit, 34 del libro 2. El último tomo lleva fecha de 1790 y en

él quedan por llenar muchos espacios dedicados a notas; en los tomos 5 y 6 faltan en absoluto las listas bibliográficas que figuran en los anteriores y en el ejemplar de Sevilla; y en el tomo 4 se reducen éstas extraordinariamente.

Estas notas manuscritas puestas por Ayala al margen de casi todas las Leyes de la *Recopilación* de 1680, ofrecen un interés muy grande, por que en ellas, como hemos dicho, se hace la historia de cada ley, con lo que se comprende mejor su sentido y alcance y se señalan las que a juicio del autor debían ser reformadas. Con esta obra a la vista, se allanan extraordinariamente las dificultades que ofrece el publicar hoy una édición crítica de la *Recopilación* de 1680, empresa que tanta luz arrojaría en el estudio histórico de nuestras instituciones coloniales.

5°.—Finalmente, cierra el ciclo de las obras debidas al esfuerzo asombroso de D. Manuel José de Ayala, sus cuarenta tomos de "Miscelanea" que se encuentran en nuestra Biblioteca Real y que como su título indica, constituyen un conjunto abigarrado de noticias referentes a las materias más diversas y avaloradas todas ellas por un incuestionable interés histórico.

Como la misión de este trabajo es simplemente informativa un estudio crítico documentado de la labor de Ayala sería empresa que exigiría mucho tiempo y excedería por mucho las exigencias de una revista—damos fin con lo expuesto a nuestro artículo limitándonos a publicar, como apéndice a las noticias expuestas, las palabras contenidas en el "Indice del Diccionario de Gobierno y Legislación de Indias" que se encuentra en nuestro Archivo Histórico junto con las que integran el Indice impreso publicado por su autor, para que pueda apreciarse mejor el alcance de esta obra que juzgamos fundamental, así como las variantes que entre uno y otro índice existen.

José Maria Ots Capsegui.

[TRANSLATION]

DON MANUEL JOSEF DE AYALA AND THE HISTORY OF OUR LEGISLATION FOR THE INDIES

I. VALUE OF THE RECOPILACIÓN OF 1680

The history of our legislation for the Indies does not crystallize in the Recopilación of 1680. He who knows our colonial institutions only through the regulations contained therein will succeed in obtaining naught but a vision, and one quite incomplete, of the material. Not even if one refer exclusively to the moment of its publication, can it be maintained that it embraces all the positive law then in force in our colonial territories, for leaving aside a whole order of law originating from sources which were functioning at the side of the legislatorcustom and jurisprudence—there still remains the fact of the existence of important institutions of our colonial life ruled by ordinances and other nuclei of laws not collected, but which, however, were ratified expressly. Also, before 1680, there existed other compilations of our Indian law which were collected together only in part in the Recopilación published in the time of Carlos II.; and after that Recopilación, very important legislative reforms are registered in the history of our colonial institutions, of a singularly administrative and political nature which caused that Recopilación to lose its efficacy because a new condition of affairs was operating. To such a degree was this the case that Carlos III., as reported by Beleña, was compelled to consider the necessity of a new compilation; and although he did not succeed in seeing the realization of his plans, commencing with that period, attempts were repeated constantly, thus making evident the need of revision.

It is not our present purpose to give the detailed history of all these compilations, some of which were promulgated, but the most of which were destroyed in the beginning. This task has been carried out by D. Rafael Altamira and will be set forth in a work soon to be published. The preceding considerations serve only as a preliminary necessary for the historical location of the work of Don Manuel Josef de Ayala, in order that the double value of his work may be better appreciated.

II. AYALA'S WORK AND ATTEMPTS OF LEGISLATIVE REFORM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Don Manuel Josef de Ayala, a native of Panama, archivist of the office of that audiencia, and later of his Majesty's Supreme Council of the Indies, was appointed a member of one of the boards formed at the end of the eighteenth century for the purpose of revising the Recopilación of 1680. When Ayala was honored by that elevated appointment, he had abundantly proven his fitness for matters of this nature by his work Consultas y Pareceres a S. M. en Asuntos de Gobierno de Indias [i.e. Advices and Opinions for his Majesty in Matters pertaining to the Government of the Indies], a work written in 1765–1776, and which we shall consider by and by. But in spite of the extraordinary activity which he displayed in the exercise of his new duties, the projected revision remained, as had preceding attempts, unrealized, and the Recopilación of 1680, notwithstanding its manifest insufficiency, continued in force, as long as our colonial empire endured.

Nevertheless, the efforts made at that time by Ayala cannot be considered as altogether wasted, for although his work remained unfinished, the documents which were gathered together for this purpose, constitute today one of the most valuable sources that can be used for the historical study of our colonial institutions. On one side, it serves to trace what may be called the external history of our Indian law—compilations which are listed in these documents of a general or special, private or public nature, attempts of compilation, etc.;—and on the other, to reconstruct the picture of the institutions in force during the last period of our colonial empire. In this one can appraise those institutions which might be considered only as living in the law but not established by custom, as well as the desires for reform which were very widespread and which were felt by men who saw impending our definitive ruin.

Let us pass then, to the consideration of each of the works of Ayala which we have had the opportunity to examine. The author himself enumerates them in an Yndice del Diccionario de Gobierno, y Legislacion de Indias, y España, Norte de los acertados Actos positivos de la Experiencia. Comprehende no solo la Nomenclatura de los Decretos, Consultas, Cedulas, Reglamentos, Reales Ordenes, y Oficios, sino en Compendio, o Extracto, los Casos, y Resoluciones en cada Materia a que se contrahe la Voz como se demuestra aqui desde la Pagina 42, y 44 en adelante [i.e., Index of the Dictionary of Government and Legislation of the Indies and

Spain; Guide to the proper positive Acts of Experience. Comprehending not only the List of the Decrees, Advices, Cedulas, Regulations, Royal Orders and Despatches, but in a Compendium or Abstract, the Cases and Resolutions of each Matter on which a Vote was taken, as is shown here from Pages 42 and 44 and the following Pages.] By Don Manuel Josef de Ayala, member of his Majesty's Council, in the Supreme Council of the Indies, Knight of the Royal and Illustrious Order of Carlos III. Madrid, in the Printing establishment of Sancha, in the year 1712.

This Index which, as shown by its title, refers to one of the works of Ayala—his Dictionary of Government and Legislation of the Indies and Spain—constitutes a demonstration—these are his words—of the work realized by its author. In it are contained, besides a list of all the words discussed in the reference dictionary, some examples showing the method followed in this exposition of the result of his investigations, and a complete enumeration of all the material collected together. The author himself says:

These works are reduced to 88 large folio volumes of Royal Cedulas, Decrees, Orders, Regulations, Despatches, Advices, and Opinions. From these there have been made 55 volumes of a dictionary arranged logically by material and words, combining also the material and words of the universal government noted in the list. Up to the present, it contains more than fifty thousand judgments. . . . It has forty thousand five hundred notes to the sixty thousand two hundred and fifty-one laws and one hundred and ninety-one autos accordados contained in the four volumes of the Recopilacion de Indias explaining the origin of or reason for their establishment, amplification, restriction, or annulment, and information on doubtful matters considered in Council. It has corrected the acronisms of its marginal citations, explained the words in which some laws are clothed, and which are not found in the dictionaries; and added a concordance of the laws of Castile, the Partida, the Fuero, and the Ordenamiento; and of the Ordinances of the Army and Navy, so that this work is the history of Indian Legislation.

It also has 52 folio volumes entitled "Miscelanea" [i.e., "Miscellaneous"] and one comprising a general index, in which are included Speeches, Descriptions, Sailing Routes, Projects, etc., of all matters, for the completion of information. In the prospectus are shown the individual contents of each piece, so that if any should be repeated by mistake as new, if one looks it up, no trouble will be caused and some time saved for the ministries.

Finally it has thirty single volumes containing various records and matters, both ecclesiastical and political, and economic and historical.

Then a note at the end states:

The total number of these works is two hundred and twenty-five manuscript volumes up to the present year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

Of all these works which Fabié in his *Ensayo Política* considered lost, we ourselves have been able to find the following:

1. The Dictionary composed of twenty-six manuscript volumes, which are found in our Archivo Histórico Nacional [i.e., National Historical Archives], under pressmark 726 b-751 b. However, it is advisable to note that scarcely half the words that appear in the printed Index can be found in this Dictionary, as will be seen by the proof which we offer at the end of this article. We have not been able to ascertain whether it is the copy in the Archivo that is incomplete, or whether the Index was made before the work, and thereafter the latter adjusted according to a distinct plan.

2. Forty-two volumes of Royal Cedulas contained in the same archives under pressmark 684–725 whence were taken the abstracts composing the Dictionary. This collection is incomplete, but may be reconstructed with the same work found in the Biblioteca Real [i.e., Royal Library], although the latter is also incomplete. Some volumes are duplicates which prove that several copies were made.

3. That entitled "Consultas y Pareceres a S. M. en Asuntos de Gobierno de Indias, recopiladas a manera de Abecedario por D. Manuel Jose de Ayala natural de Panamá Archivero de Despacho de ellas. Dedicado al Consejo y Cámara de Indias. . . . Año de 1765 y siguientes [i.e., Advices and Opinions for his Majesty in regard to Governmental Affairs of the Indies, compiled in Alphabet form by Don Manuel Jose de Ayala, native of Panama, Archivist of the Office of the Indies. Dedicated to the Council and Chamber of the Indies.

. . . Year 1765 and the following years]. Volume XII. bears date 1776. This collection is also found in our Archivo Nacional Histórico Nacional under pressmark 752 and following. The first volume conserved says on the back of the book "Volume second". What is the first? This is a question we have been unable to answer. In spite of the declaration on the title-page, it has no other alphabet than the indices of the volumes, and not even those to all the volumes.

4. A copy of the Recopilación de Leyes de Indias of 1680 (edition of 1774) which is found in the Biblioteca de la Sociedad Éconómica de Amigos del País de Sevilla [i.e., Library of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country of Seville], with very copious marginal notes, in which is given the history of each law, errors in citation corrected, reforms noted that ought to be introduced, etc., etc. This work offers an extraordinary interest. It is a special impression which must have been made for this purpose, for in general the copies of the edition of

1774 consist of four volumes, while this copy has eight. Several copies of it must have been made, for there is another copy identical to that of Seville, in the manuscript section of our Biblioteca Nacional [i.e., National Library], of which only the first volume is conserved. There is also another current copy of the edition of the Leyes de Indias of 1774 with marginal notes copied from the one mentioned above, but it only runs to the second volume, and, in addition, omits a great number of the notes.

Lastly, we have had the opportunity to examine a manuscript copy of the above mentioned Recopilación de Leyes de Indias of 1680 in the Biblioteca Real, entitled "Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias; su origin ilustración y estado presente, año de 1787 [i.e., Compilacion of the Laws of the Indies; their origin, explanation, and present condition, year 1787"]. This manuscript appears to have been signed by Don Manuel José de Ayala and has many marginal notes identical with those in the Seville copy. Doubtless this is the original which served as a model for all the others which have been noted. But it consists only of six volumes and reaches only to law 47, título 34, of book 2. The last volume has the date 1790 and contains many blank spaces left for other notes. Volumes 5 and 6 lack altogether the bibliographical lists which appear in the preceding and in the Seville copy. In volume 4 they are extraordinarily reduced.

These manuscript notes written by Ayala on the margin of almost all the laws of the *Recopilacion* of 1680 offer very great interest, for as we have said, a history of each law appears therein, thus making it possible to understand their meaning and object better, while those laws are noted which in the opinion of the author ought to be revised. With this work to consult, the difficulties presented in publishing today a critical edition of the *Recopilacion* of 1680 are smoothed out in an extraordinary manner—an undertaking that would throw great light on the historical study of our colonial institutions.

5. Finally, the cycle of the works due to the astonishing industry of Don Manuel José de Ayala, his forty volumes of "Miscelanea" which are in our Biblioteca Real, and which as indicated by their title, constitute a rough assemblage of information relating to the most diverse matters, all of which were inspired by an unquestionable historical interest.

Since the mission of this paper is simply informative—a critical documented study of the work of Ayala would be an undertaking which would demand considerable time and greatly exceed the space

of a review—we end with what has been set forth in our article, allowing ourselves to publish in the form of appendices to the information brought out, the words contained in the "Indice del Diccionario de Govierno y Legislación de Indias" [i.e., "Index of the Dictionary of Government and Legislation of the Indies"] in our Archivo Histórico, together with those in the printed index published by its author, so that the purpose of this work, which we believe to be fundamental, may be better appraised, as well as the differences between the two Indices.

José Maria Ots Capsegui.

APÉNDICE I.

Diccionario de Gobierno y Legislación de Indias. Norte de los Acertamiento y Actos Positivos de la Experencia. Archivo Histórico Nacional Sig. 726 b.

A. томо і. 726 в.

Abadia. Abastecedor. Abogados. Academia. Aclamacion. Acuerdo. Adelantado. Adjuntos. Administracion. Aduanas. Agentes Fiscales. Agregacion. Agricultura. Agrimensor. Agua. Aguada. Aguardientes. Ahorros. Alabarderos. Alardes. Albaceas.

APPENDIX I1

Dictionary of Government and Legislation of the Indies. Guide of the Positive Facts and Acts of Experience. National Historical Archives, Pressmark 726 b.

A. VOLUME I. 726 B.

Purveyor
Advocates
Academy
Acclamation
Advice; opinion
Governor
Associate Judges
Administration
Customs duties
Fiscal agents
Aggregation
Agriculture
Surveyor
Water

Abbey

Watering place for ships

Brandies Savings Halberdiers Musters

Testamentary executors

¹ In the translation of the list of this, as well as of the following appendices, it can not be premised that the correct rendering has been made in each case, since any given word may have many renderings in English. Full assurance can be had only by an examination of the subject matter of the laws, etc., to which the words refer.

Alcabala. Alcaldes. Alcances. Alcaydia. Alectos (pájaros).

Alferez. Algoodon. Alguacil. Alhajas. Alijos. Almacen.

Almirante. Almojarifazgo. Almonedas.

Alojamiento. Amancebamientos.

Anexos. Añil.

Apartador de Moneda.

Apelaciones Apuntador.

A. томо п. 727 в.

Arancel. Arbitrios. Arboles. Archivo. Armada. Armas. Armero. Arrendamientos.

Arribadas.

Arroz. Artilleros. Arzobispos. Asiento. Assesor.

Assistente Real.

Astilleros. Audiencias. Auditoria.

Ausencias. Auxilio.

Avaluos. Averia.

Avisos.

Excise duty Judges. Balances Wardenships Alectos (birds)

Ensign Cotton Constable Jewels

Lighters; smuggled goods

Warehouse Admiral

Duty on imports or exports

Auctions Lodgings Concubinages

Subordinate benefices; annexed

Sorter of money

Appeals Observer

A. VOLUME II. 727 B.

Schedule of rates; tariff Arbitrations Trees Archives Fleet Arms Armorer Leases

Ships compelled to put into port

through stress of weather

Rice Artillerymen Archbishops

Agreement Assessor

Assistant royal judge

Shipyards Supreme courts

Place and office of an auditor

Absences Aid

Valuations

Duty on ships and goods in India trade

Information; notices

Ayuntamiento

Ayuntamiento.
Azogue.

Azucar.

Gratuity

Municipal government

Mercury Sugar

в. томо III. 728 в.

B. VOLUME III. 728 B.

Balanza.
Banderas.
Bandos.
Baños.
Baratillo.

Barcos.
Barras.
Bastimentos.
Baston.
Bayuca.

Beaterio.
Beatificación.
Beneficio.

Beneficio.
Berberiscos.
Bermellón.
Bienes de dif

Bienes de difuntos.

Blasfemos.
Bodegas.
Bombas.
Boticarios.
Brea.
Breve.

Buhoneros. Bula. Buzeo. Buzos. Scales

Flags Edicts Baths

Cheap bargain shop; junk

Boats
Bars
Provisions.
Cane
Tavern

House for pious women

Beatification Benefice Berbers Vermilion

Property of deceased persons

Oaths; blasphemy Storehouses Pumps Apothecaries Pitch

Apostolic brief Peddlers Bull (papal) Diving Divers

с. томо іу. 729 в.

c. volume iv. 729 b.

Caballeria.
Caballeros.
Caballos.
Cabildos.

Cabildos.

Cabos. Cacao. Cadetes. Cámara. Caminos.

Caminos.
Campanas.
Canela.

Knighthood

Knights; horsemen

Horses

Chapter of a cathedral; corporation of

a town Corporals Cacao Cadets

Chamber (a legislative body)

Roads Bells Cinnamon

Cange. Exchange Canoas. Canoes Canongias. Canonry Canonizacion. Canonization Cañamo. Hemp Cañones. Cannons Capellanes. Chaplains Capillas. Chapels Capitanes. Captains Capitulos Chapters Carceles. Prisons Carena. Careening Carga. Cargo

Carnecerias. Meat markets Cartas. Letters Casados. Married persons

Casas de Moneda, Aposento y Contra-

tacion. Cascarilla.

Casos de Corte.

Castellanos y Castillos. Castillos. Catedrales. Cathedras. Caudales. Causas.

Caxa de comunidad de Indias.

Caxones. Caziques.

Cedulas. Censos. Censuras. Cera.

Ceremonias Certificaciones. Cerveza.

с. томо у. 730 в.

Cirujanos. Ciudad.

Clausura. Clerigos.

Mints, Inns, and Houses of Trade Jesuit's bark

Court matters

Castilians (Spaniards)2

Castles Cathedrals Professorships

Wealth Causes

Community chest of the Indies

Caciques (Indian title) Decrees: warrants

Pensions; quitrents; census Censures: reprimands

Ceremonies Certificates

Beer

C. VOLUME V. 730 B.

Surgeons City Cloister Priests: clerics

^{2 &}quot;Castellano" also denotes a "warden" or "governor" of a castle, or the owner of the castle; a Spanish coin which varied in value at different epochs. "Castillo" as ordinarily used denotes a "Castle"; here if "Castellanos" refers to Castilians, "Castillo" appears to be an Indian rendering of that word.

Coadjutor. Cobres.

Coca. Coches. Cofradias.

Colectores.
Colegiata.

Colegio Seminario.

Colonia.

Comandancias.
Comedias.
Comercio.
Comissarios.
Comisiones.
Comissos.
Compañia.
Competencias.
Concilio Provincial.

Concordato.
Concordia.
Concurrencia.
Condenaciones.
Confesores.
Confirmacion.
Confiscacion.
Congregacion.

Congrua sustentacion.

с. томо vi. 731 в.

Conocimiento.
Conquistadores.
Consagracion.
Consejo.
Constituciones.

Consultas.

Contrabandos.
Contralor.

Contribucion.
Conventos.
Conversion.

Corredor de Lonja.

Corregidores.

Coadjutor Copper

Erythroxylon coca

Carriages Confraternities

Collectors; tax-gatherers

Collegiate church Seminary college

Colony

Commandancies
Comedies
Commerce
Commissaries
Commissions

Seizures; attachments

Company Competitions Provincial Council

Concordat

Concord; agreement

Concurrence; convention or assembly

Condemnations Confessors Confirmation Confiscation Congregation

Support assigned to a priest

C. VOLUME VI. 731 B.

Cognizance Conquistadors. Consecration Council Constitutions Consulate

Reports and advice to the king in

council
Accountancy
Contraband goods
Comptroller

Troublesome contract

Contribution Convents Conversion Exchange broker

Corregidors (former Spanish magis-

trate)

Correo. Mail; post office Corsarios. Pirates; corsairs Cosmógrafo. Cosmographer Creacion. Creation Créditos. Credits Criados. Servants Criollos. Creoles Cruzada. Crusade Cuentas. Accounts Cueros. Skins Curatos. Curates Cureñas. Guncarriages Chancellor Chanciller. Chinos. Chinese Chronista. Chronicler

D. TOMO VII. 732 B.

D. VOLUME VII. 732 B.

Daneses,
Debitos,
Decimo.
Defensor de Indios.
Delatores.
Delinquentes.
Delitos.
Demente.
Denunciadores.
Depositaria.
Depositarios.
Derechos.
Derroteros.
Desague.

Descarga.

Descubrimiento.
Descuentos.
Desertores.
Despachos.
Destierros.
Deudas.
Dexacion.
Diamantes.
Diezmos.
Dimisorias.

Desalojo.

Diputados.

Dique.

Danes
Debts
Tithe: a tenth

Defender of the Indians

Informers

Criminals; delinquents

Crimes
Insane
Denouncers
Depository
Depositaries

Laws; taxes; duties; imposts

Seacharts Challenge Drainage

Action of dislodging

Discharging cargo of a ship; an

unburdening

Discovery
Discounts
Deserters
Despatches
Exiles
Debts
Resignation
Diamonds
Tithes
Dismissals

Deputies

Dike

Director. Discordias. Dispensa.

Doctrinas y Doctrineros.

Donaciones. Donativo. Dosel. Dotes. Duplicados. Director Discords Dispensation

Doctrinas (missionary district) and

missionaries

Donations Gift Canopy Dowries **Duplicates**

E. томо VIII. 733 в.

E. VOLUME VIII. 733 B.

Eclesiasticos. Edictos. Elecciones. Embarcaciones. Embargos. Empleos. Emprestitos.

Encarezamiento.

Encomiendas y Encomenderos.

Ensavadores. Entierros. Entredichos. Entretenidos. Equivalente. Ereccion. Esclavos. Escribanos.

Escribientes.

Escrituras. Escudos.

Escuela.

Esmeraldas. Españoles. Esparto. Esperas.

Espureos. Esquadra.

Estampas. Estampilla. Estancias.

Estancos. Estandarte. **Ecclesiastics** Edicts Elections Embarkations Embargoes Employments Loans

Enhancement of value

Encomiendas and encomenderos³

Essayers Funerals Interdicts Amusements Equivalent Erection Slaves Public notaries

Clerks

Legal instruments

Shields; name of a Spanish coin

School Emeralds Spaniards Feather grass

Expectations; hopes; respites

Spurious; false Squadron

Prints; stamps; press Little prints; stamps Dwellings; landed property

Monopolies Standard

³ Generally not translated. "Encomienda" refers to a royal grant of land or the income thereof; and "Encomendero" to the holder of an encomienda.

Estaño. Tin
Estatuto. Statute
Estipendios. Stipends
Examenes. Examinations
Executorias. Writs of execution
Exequias. Obsequities

Exortos. Letters requisitorial

Expedientes. Collections of all the papers on any

Expolios.

Expositos.

Expositos.

Expulsos.

Extincion.

Extrangeros.

F. томо іх. 734 в.

F. VOLUME IX. 734 B.

Fabricas. Factories Factores. Factors Facultad. Faculty Familiares. Familiars Familias. **Families** Faroles. Lanterns Feria. Fair Fianza. Guaranty Fideicomisarios. Trustees

Fiel Executor. Person who serves a writ of execution

by order of a competent judge

Fiestas. Feastdays; holydays

Firmas. Signatures Fiscales. Fiscals

Fletes. Freight rates on vessels

Flotas. Trading fleets

Fondeos. The act of searching a ship

Fortificaciones. Fortifications

Forzados. Criminals sentenced to the galleys

Franceses. Frenchmen Fraudes. Frauds Frutos. Fruits

Fuero Militar. Military privilege
Fuerza. Fort; force (legal)
Functions

Fundacion.
Fundaciones.
Foundation
Fundiciones.
Foundries
Fundidor mayor
Funerales.
Funerales

G. томо x. 735 в.

G. VOLUME X. 735 B.

Wages Gages. Galleons Galeones. Galliots Galeotes. Galleys Galeras. Hens Gallinas. Cattle Ganado. Claws Garras.

Gastos extraordinarios. Extraordinary expenses

Gazette Gazeta.

General beat to arms Generalas.

Generals Generales. Gypsies Gitanos. Governadores. Governors

Concession; favor Gracia.

Degrees Grados.

Grain; fine scarlet cloth Grana. Gran Chanciller. Grand Chancellor

Grangerias. Profits Gratificacion. Gratuity

Grumetes. Common seamen

Guardas. Guards Guardia. Guard Guarnicion. Garrison Guerra. War

Guias de Forasteros. Guides for foreigners

н. томо хг. 736 в.

H. VOLUME XI. 736 B.

Habilitacion. Equipment Habitos. Habits (dress) Harina. Flour Hermandad. Brotherhood Hermita. Hermitage Hierbas. Herbs Hierro. Iron Hijo-dalgo. Nobleman Historia. History Hitos. Landmarks Homicidio. Homicide Honores. Honors; privileges Honras. Honors

Hospederia y Hospitalidad. Hospice and hospitality Hospicio. Hospitium Hospitales. Hospitals Hostilidades. Hostilities Hypotecas. Mortgages

I. томо XII. 737 в.

I. VOLUME XII. 737 B.

Idolos. Iglesias. Ilegitimos. Inmunidad. Imposicion. Imprentas. Incorporacion. Indices. Indios. Indulgencias. Indulto. Informaciones. Informes. Ingenieros. Ingenios. Inquisicion. Inspectores. Instruccion. Intendente. Interdiccion. Interinos. Interpretes. Intestados. Invalidos. Inventario.

Idols Churches Illegitimate persons Immunity Imposition Printed materials Incorporation Indices Indians Indulgences Indults Accusations Reports Engineers Engines Inquisition Inspectors Instruction Intendent Interdict; prohibition Provisional officers

Provisional officers
Interpreters
Persons dying intestate
Invalid; null and void

Inventory Islands

Japanese

Tribunal

J. томо хии. 738 в.

Islas.

Japones.
Jubilacion.
Jubileo.
Judios.
Juegos.
Juez.
Juntas.
Juramento.
Jurisdicion.
Juros.
Justicias.
Juzgado.

J. VOLUME XIII. 738 B.

Pension
Jubilee
Jews
Games
Judge
Assemblies; boards
Oath
Jurisdiction
Annuities
Justices

L. томо xv. 740 в.

Labradores. Farmers
Lacayos. Lackeys
Ladrones. Thieves

L. VOLUME XV. 740 B.

Lake Laguna. Wools Lanas. Lances Lanzas. Legacy Legado.

Legitimization Legitimacion. Castilian language Lengua castellana. Firewood Leña.

Leprosy Lepra. Letter Letra. Levy Leva. Levantamiento. Insurrection

Laws Leyes. Warrants Libranzas.

Small memoranda books Libretas.

Books Libros. Licenses Licencias. Lienzos. Canvas; linen Boundaries Limites. Alms Limosnas. Flax Lino. Lists Listas. Mourning Lutos. Llaves. Keys

Luminarias. Sacrament lamps

м. томо жіу. 739 в.

M. VOLUME XIV. 739 B.

Maderas. Boards

Maestres de Navos de Campo y de Ship, Field, and Money Masters⁴

Offers

Plata.

Mandas. Manifestaciones. Declarations

Marcos. An old weight or measure

Marchamo. Mark put on goods at the custom house

Marineros. Sailors Mascaras. Masks

Matadero. Slaughterhouse

Matriculá. Register; matriculation

Matrimonios. Marriages Mayorazgos. Entailed estates Mayordomos. Majordomos Medallas. Medals

[&]quot;Maestre de Nao", literally "Ship master", refers to a ship official, possibly the pilot: "Maestre de campo" denotes a military officer of superior rank in charge of a certain number of men. It has sometimes been translated "field marshal". "Maestre de plata" was the title of the officer who had charge of the India trade of receiving, conducting, and delivering the silver sent to Spain.

Media-Anata.

Medicos. Medidas.

Mejora.

Menores.
Memoriales.

Mercado. Mercadurias.

Mercedes. Meritos.

Mesada Eclesiastica.

 ${\bf Mestizas.}$

Annats of the half year

Physicians Measures

Appeal to a superior court

Minors
Memorials
Market
Merchandise
Gifts
Merits

Ecclesiastical stipend

Halfcastes

м. томо хv. 740 в.

M. VOLUME XV. 740 B.

Milicianos.
Militares.
Minas.
Ministros.
Misas.
Missiones.
Mitas.
Mojones.
Monasterios.
Moneda.

Montados y galeras.

Monte-Pio. Moratoria. Mostrencos.

Muelle.

Mozos de faroles.

Mulatos.
Multas.
Municiones.
Muralla.

Militiamen
Military men
Mines
Ministers
Masses
Missions
Mitas
Landmarks
Monasteries
Money

Troopers and galleys

Pension to widows and orphans

Moratorium Vagabonds Mole; jetty Lantern boys

Mules; kind of Moorish vessel

Mulattoes Fines Munitions Wall

N. томо xvII. 742 в.

N. VOLUME XVII. 742 B.

Nacimiento Real. Naturaleza. Naufragio. Navios. Naypes. Royal birth
Nature; essence⁵
Shipwreck
Ships
Playing cards

[&]quot;Naturaleza" has several abstract meanings, such as "nature", "the instinct of created beings", etc. One meaning relates to the nativity of a person, that is, his origin.

Negocios.

Negros. Nieve.

Nombramiento. Notaria.

Notificaciones. Novenas.

Novicias. Nuncio.

o. Tomo xvIII. 743 B.

Obispos.
Obrages.
Obras pias.
Oficiales Reales.

Oficios vendibles y renunciables.

Ofrendas.
Oidores.
Oleos.
Oposiciones.
Oratorio.
Ordenanzas.

Ordenes.

Oro.

P. томо хіх. 744 в.

Pagador.
Pagamentos.

Pages.

Pajaros. Palacio.

Palanguinado.

Palenque. Palio.

Palo de tinta.

Papeles. Parian.

I allall.

Parientes.
Parroquias.
Pasageros.
Pastel.
Pastos.

Patentes.
Patriarcha.

Patronato.

Business matters

Negroes Snow

Appointment Notary's office Notifications

Nine days' special worship

Novices (women) Papal legate

o. volume xvIII. 743 B.

Bishops Manufactures

Pious or charitable foundation

Royal Officials

Salable and transferable offices

Offerings

Auditors (members of Audiencia)

Oils

Competitions Oratory Ordinances Orders Gold

P. VOLUME XIX. 744 B.

Payer

Payment Pages; cabinboys

Birds Palace

Palanquin bearer

Palisade Pallium Logwood Bread Papers

Parian (Chinese quarter in Manila)

Relatives
Parishes
Passengers
Pastry
Pastures
Patents (writs)
Patriarch

Patronage; foundation of a pious or

charitable establishment

Paz. Pelucas.

Penas de Camara. Pendones Reales.

Periuros. Perlas falsas. Permisos. Permuta. Perrero.

Pertiquero. Pesca.

Pecados publicos.

Pesetas. Pesos. Pension. Pesquizas.

Peste.

Peace Wigs

Fines forfeited to the royal treasury

Royal standards Perjuries False pearls Permits Barter

Dog catcher; beadle

Verger Fishing Public sins Pesetas (a coin) Weights; pesos (coin) Pension

Inquisitional inquiry

Pest

P. VOLUME XX. 745 B.

Pilatos. Pilots Pimiento. Pepper Piratas. **Pirates**

P. томо xx. 745 в.

Floor; story of a house Pisso.

Plans Planos. Plata. Silver Plateros. Silversmiths Plazas. Squares

Term or day of payment; writ or sum-Plazos.

mons Pleitos. Lawsuits Pliegos. Sheets of paper Lead

Plomo.

Poblaciones. Populations; towns Powers of attorney Podatarios. Poderes. Powers, authority

Polizones. Vagrants Polvora. Powder Porteros. Porters Portes. Porterage Portuguese Portugueses. Positos. Public granaries Posession. Possession Posturas. Wagers

P. ТОМО XXI. 746 B.

P. VOLUME XXI. 746 B.

Prebendas prebendados.

Preces.
Precios.
Predicadores.
Preferencia.
Prelados.
Premios.

Presentaciones.

Presidentes.
Presidios.
Pressas.
Presos.
Prest.
Prestamos.

Pretendientes.
Primacia.
Primicias.
Prisioneros.
Privilegio.
Probanzas.
Procesiones.
Procuradores.
Propietarios.
Propinas.

Propios.
Propuestas.
Prorroga.
Protectores.
Proto-medico.
Proveheduria.
Provinciales.
Provistos.

Provisores.
Provissiones.
Proyecto.
Puentes.
Puerto.
Puja.
Pulperias.
Pulque.

Q. TOMO XXII. 747 B.

Quartas funerales. Querellas. Quina. Prebends, prebendaries

Honors Prices Preachers Preference Prelates Rewards

The act of presenting ecclesiastical

benefices
Presidents
Fortresses
Prizes
Prisoners

Daily pay allowed to soldiers

Loans

Pretenders; candidates

Priority
First fruits
Prisoners
Privilege
Proofs
Processions
Procurators
Proprietors
Tips
Public lands
Proposals

Prorogation Protectors First physician

Storehouse for provisions

Provincials

Provided with a benefice Providers; vicars general

Provisions
Project
Bridges
Port
Overbidding
Grocery store

Grocery stores Pulque (a liquor)

Q. VOLUME XXII. 747 B.

Funeral parts of the mass Complaints; libels

Jesuit's bark

Quintas. Quintos. Quitasol. Quito.

Drawing of men for the army Those drawn for the army

Parasol Quito (Peru)

в. томо ххии. 748 в.

R. VOLUME XXIII. 748 B.

Raciones y Racioneros.

Rancho. Reales de plata.

Rebeldia. Receptores. Recivimientos.

Reclutas. Rector. Recurso. Recusacion. Reditos. Regatones. Reducciones.

Reforma. Regalos. Regentes. Regidores.

Regimientos.

Registro. Reglamento. Reintegracion. Relaciones. Relatores. Religiosos. Reliquias. Relox. Remates. Remociones.

Rentas. Renuncia.

Reos.

Repartimiento.

Represalias. Representaciones. Requerimientos.

Rescate. Residencias. The prebend called "racion," and the prebendaries holding it

Ranch Silver reals Rebelliousness Actuaries Receipts Recruits Rector Recourse Recusation

Revenues Hucksters Reductions Reform Presents

Regents

Regidors; aldermen

Regiments; magistracy of a city or

town Register Regulations Restoration Relations Informers Religious Relics Watch Auctions

Removals Rents; incomes Resignation Criminals

Repartimiento (land given to Spanish

conquistadors) Reprisals

Representations Summonses Ransoms

Residencias (trial of a Spanish official at the end of his term of office)

Restablecimiento. Restoration Retiro. Retreat

Revistas. Reviews of troops

Rey. King
Rios. Rivers
Rogativas. Prayers
Romanas. Steelyards
Rondas. Night patrols

s. томо xxiv. 749 в.

s. VOLUME XXIV. 749 B.

Sacristias. Sala del crimen. Sacristies Criminal courtroom

Salarios. Criminal courtroom Salaries

Salinas. Salt mines
Salitre. Saltpeter

Sangleyes (name for Chinese in Ma-

Santuario. Sanctuary
Sargento. Sergeant
Salva. Salvo

Secret; office connected with the In-

quisition
Sectarios. Sectarians
Segunda suplicacion. Second petition

Seda. Silk

Sellos Reales. Royal seals
Seminarios. Seminaries
Sentencia. Sentence
Señoreage. Seigniorage
Señorio. Lordship

Sepulturas. Interments; sepulchers

Sermones. Sermons
Servicios. Services
Silla. Seat

Sindicos de Sⁿ. Francisco. Syndics of St. Francis

Synodales. Synodics Synodos. Synods Sisa. Petty larceny Sitial. Seat of honor Situadó. Subventions Sociedad. Society Sochantre. Subchanter Soldados. Soldiers

Solicitador fiscal.
Sorteos.
Subdelegados.
Solicitor fiscal.
Act of drawing lots
Subdelegates

Subsidios. Subsidies

Substitutos.
Sucesion.
Sueldos.
Sufragios.

Summarios de indulgencias.

Superintendentes. Supernumerarios. Substitutes Succession Salaries Suffrages

Abstracts of indulgences

Superintendents Supernumeraries

т. томо хху. 750 в.

T. VOLUME XXV. 750 B.

Tabaco.
Tanteo.
Tasas.
Tegidos.
Thenientes.
Thesoreros.
Temporalidades.
Tercias reales.
Testamentos.
Testigos.
Testimonios.
Tiendas.
Tierras.
Tintas.

Toneladas.
Tostones.
Traductor.

Titulos.

Trage.

Trasbordos.
Traslacion.
Tratamiento.
Tregua.
Tribunales.

Tributos.
Trigo.
Tropa.
Tumultos.

Tutores.

Tobacco

Computation; average

Assizes
Textiles
Lieutenants
Treasurer
Temporalities
Royal thirds

Wills
Witnesses
Testimonies
Shops
Lands
Inks
Titles

Tons burden of a ship Tostons (a coin) Translation

'Dress Transshipments

Translation; removal
Treatment

Truce
Tribunals
Tributes
Wheat
Troops
Tumults
Tutors

U, V, Y X. TOMO XXVI. 751 B.

U, v, and x. VOLUME XXVI. 751 B.

Uniformes.
Universidad.
Utensilios.
Vacantes.
Vagamundos.
Valimientos.

Uniforms
University
Utensils

Vacancies; vacations

Vagabonds

Benefits; contributions

Varas. Veedor. Ventas. Vestuario. Viages. Viatico. Vicarios. Victoria. Vicuñas. Vigias.

Virreyes. Visitadores y visitas.

Viudas. Viudedad. Vocales. Votos. Xengibre.

Xarcia.

Villa.

Vinos. Viñas. Yards (measure)

Overseer Sales Vestry Voyages Viaticum Vicars Victory Vicuñas Lookouts Town Wines Vineyards Vicerovs

Visitors and visits (legal)

Widows Widowhood Voters Votes

Ship's rigging

Ginger

APENDICE II.

Palabras que figuran en el Indice del Diccionario de Gobierno . . . , por Don Manuel Josef de Ayala y que no constan en el ejemplar que del referido diccionario se encuentra en el Archivo Histórico.

Abad de Guadalupe.

Abadesa. Abalorio. Abarrotes. Abastos. Abintestato. Abolengo. Abreviatura. Absolucion. Acadianos. Acarreo. Accidentes. Acemilas. Aceptaciones. Acequia.

Acevte. Acolitos.

APPENDIX II.

Words appearing in the Index of the Dictionary of Government . . . , by Don Manuel Josef de Ayala, and which do not appear in the copy of the above mentioned dictionary found in the Archivo Histórico.

Abbot of Guadalupe

Abbess Glass bead

Stop gaps in stowing cargo

Provisions Intestate Inheritance Abbreviation Absolution Acadians Cartage Accidents Mule tax Acceptations Canal

Olive oil Acolytes Accompaniment Accompaniment

Acrecentamiento.IncreaseAcreedores.CreditorsActos positivos.Positive actsActos publicos.Public actsAcusacion.AccusationAddicion.AdditionAdjudicacion.Adjudication

Adjudication.
Administration de justicia.
Administration of justice
Administration of revenues
Adoratorios.
Adjudication
Administration of revenues
Administration of revenues
Temples for the worship of idols

Adulacion. Adulation
Adulterio. Adultery
Aforado. Privileged

Aforado. Privileged person
Aforamiento. Gaging; duty on foreign goods

Aforos. Appraisement

Agente general en Roma. General agent in Rome Agentes de Negocios. Business agents

Agoreros.

Agravios.

Alijados.

Diviners

Offenses; insults; injuries

Godchildren

Aijustés. Godefinaren Contracts; couplings

Albaquias. Remnant left in collecting tithes
Albarradas. Ditches for defense in war
Albeytar. Veterinary surgeon

Albricios. Veterinary surgeon
Reward given for good news

Albuferas. A large inland body of water formed

by the sea

Alcacer.

Green barley

Alcaldias. Offices and jurisdictions of alcaldes

Alcayceria. Market place for raw silk

Alcaydes. Warden

Alegaciones en derecho.

Allegations in law
Perfidy
Alfaques.

Alfaques.

Alfereces de Tropa.

Troop ensigns

Alhameles. Porters; muleteers
Alhóndigas. Public granaries

Alimentos Food Alivios de la Real Hacienda. Aids

Alivios de la Real Hacienda.

Alds to the royal treasury
Admiralty court
Almohada.

Alquiler.

Alquitran.

Altares.

Aids to the royal treasury
Admiralty court
Wages; rent
Pillow
Wages; rent
Altars

Alternative (ecclesiastical)

Alternativa. Alternative
Alteza. Highness
Alzamiento. Insurrection

Ambar.
Americanos.
Amojonamiento.
Amortizacion.

Amortizacion.

Amparo. Anacona. Anclage. Antigüedad.

Año.

Año gregoriano. Año santo. Apartado. Apeos. Aposentador.

Aprehensor.
Apremio.
Aprobacion.
Aprovechamientos.

Aragoneses. Arcas.

Armadores de Naos.

Armazon.
Armenios.
Arqueos.
Arquitecto.
Arrabales.
Arraez.

Arraez.

Arrendadores de casas. Arrendadores de Diezmos.

idem de tierras.

idem de Rentas Reales. idem de Tributos.

Arrieros.
Arsenales.
Artes.
Artesanos.
Artilleria.
Asambleas.
Aseguradores.
Asentista.
Asesino.

Asesoria.
Asiento (contrato).

Asilos. Asociados. Asonadas. Amber Americans

The act of setting landmarks

Amortization

Proprietors; masters; householders

Asylum (legal)
(Name of a town?)
Anchoring place
Antiquity

Year

Gregorian year Holy year Inner room Props.

Lodgings house keeper One who apprehends

Reward Approbation Profits Aragonese Chests

Outfitters of ships Hulk of a ship Armenians Tonnage of a sh p

Architect Suburbs

Captain of a Moorish ship

Dowry

Renters of houses Farmers of the tithes Ditto of lands

Ditto of Royal incomes

Ditto of tributes Muleteers Arsenals Arts Artisans Artillery

Assemblies Insurers Contractors Assassin

Office of assessor
Agreement (contract)

Asylums Associates

Tumultuous crowds of people

Atalayas.

Atarazana.

Ataudes. Avena.

Averiguacion. Avisamiento.

Avocacion.

Autos.

Autos de Legos.

Ayudante mayor. idem de Ordenes.

Azafatas. Azotes.

Bachiller. Bagages.

Bagillas. Bahia.

Balanzario. Baldios.

Banco. Baquetas. Barateria.

Barquero. Barqueta.

Barrilla.
Bastardos.
Batan.

Bataneros.

Batioja.
Bautismo.

Bayetas.
Bayles.
Becas Reales.

Behetrias.
Beneficiados.
Benemeritos.
Betlemitas.

Biblia en Idioma Americano. Biblioteca Real y otras.

Bienes de Comunidad. Bienes del Real Patrimonio.

Blason. Bogas. Watchtowers

Arsenal; shed in ropewalks

Coffins Oats

Investigation Advice; report

The act of removing a lawsuit to a

superior court
Judicial decree; writ

Provision expedited by superior court prohibiting ecclesiastical judges from intervening in a purely civil

cause between laymen

Chief adjutant

Adjutant of the orders

Ladies of the queen's wardrobe

Lashes

Bachelor Baggage Table service Bahia (Brazil)

Bahia (Brazil); bay Weigher of coins in the mint

Unappropriated lands

Bank; bench
Ramrod
Barratry
Boatman
Small boat
Small bar

Bastards Fulling mill

One who beats metals into thin sheets

Baptism Baize Dances

Royal fellowships Disorders; confusion Incumbents of benefices Well deserving persons

Bethlemites

Bible in the American language Royal Library and other libraries

Communal goods

Goods of the royal patrimony

Blazonry Rowers Borracheras.
Botes.
Botica.
Brevetes.
Breviatura.
Brigadieres.
Buceo.
Bula in Coena.
Butalmapis (Indios).

Caballerizo Mayor. Caballerizos de Campo.

Cabañas.

Cabello de los Indios.

Cabuya.
Cacicazgos.
Cadenas.
Calafates.
Calificador.

Callao.
Calpizque.
Calumnia.
Calzadas.
Camarera Mar

Camarera Mayor.

Camaricos.

Camaristas de la Reyna o Infantas.

Cambio.

Camellon de Sta Fé. Campo Santo. Cánones.

Canongia suprimida.

Cañadas.
Cántara.
Canteras.
Cantores.
Capellania.
Capilla mayor.
Capilla Real.

Capilla de Tribunal.

Capitacion.

Capitan General del Exercito. Capitan General de Provincia.

Capitan a Guerra.
Capitan de Compañia.
Capitulaciones.

Carbon de Piedra.

Drunken feasts
Small boats
Drugstore
Memoranda
Abbreviations
Brigadiers
Act of diving
Papal bull

Butalmapis (Indians)

Master of the Horse

Outriders Cabins

Hair of the Indians
Agave Americana
Territory of caciques

Chains Calkers

Officer of the Inquisition, appointed to examine books and writings

Callao (Peru)

Rent gatherer; steward

Calumny Highroads

Chief lady in waiting An ancient impost

Ladies in waiting to the queen or infantas

Barter; exchange (Name of a town?)

Cemetery Canons

Suppressed canonry Glens; brooks

Wine measure of about 32 pints

Quarries

Singers; minstrels Chaplaincy Principal chapel Royal chapel Chapel of the court

Poll tax

Captain general of the army
Captain general of a province

War captain

Captain of a company

Capitulations

Coal

Carcelero.JailerCardenales.CardinalsCarey.Tortoise shellCargos.Loads

Caribe. Carib; cannibal
Carimbo. Brandmark for slaves

Carne humana.Human fleshCarreteros.CartersCarta-Cuenta.Bill of sale

Carta de naturaleza.

Letters of naturalization

Cartero.Letter carrierCasamiento.MarriageCasas.HousesCasas Reales.Royal houses

Casos de la Hermandad.

Casos reservados.

Cases of the Brotherhood
Confidential cases
Castellano de oro.

Cold castellano (coin)

Castigos.
Castros.
Catalanes.
Catecismos.
Catedraticos.

Caxas Reales de Bienes de Difuntos. Royal chests for keeping the goods of

deceased persons

Caxas Reales de Censos. Royal chests of the polltax

Caxero.CashierCensores.CensorsCentinelas.SentinelsCesion de bienes.Cession of goodsChanciller.Chancellor

Chancillerias Reales. Royal chancellaries

Chantre. Precentor
Chasqui. Postboy
Chinguirito. Rum; a draught

Chinos. Chinese Chirimias. Oboes

Cimarrones.Runaway slavesCinabrio.CinnabarCitacion.Judicial noticeClausula.Clause

Cobranza. Collection of money

Cochinilla.CochinealCodigo.CodeCohecho.Bribery

Colacion Canónica. Canonical collation

Colegiales. Collegians

Collecta de la Misa. Collect of the Mass

Colleras. Collars

Beehives Colmenas. Colonos. Colonists

Commanders; majors Comandantes.

Termite or white ant in Tropical Comegen.

America

Knight commander Comendador. Galley captain Comitre de Galera. Compensaciones. Compensations

Compounding of crimes and smuggled Composicion de delitos, y Contra-

goods bandos. Composicion de tierra. Composition of land

Comprador.

Compromiso. Promise; compromise

Compulsorio. An order that an authentic copy of a

judicial decree be made Computo Gregoriano. Gregorian computation Comunicacion Communication

Concejo. Council

Concepcion Purisima. The Immaculate Conception

Concesiones. Concessions Conciertos. Agreements; concerts

Conclusion. Conclusion Concubinato. Concubinage

Concursos. Contests Condestable de Castilla. Constable of Castile idem de Mar. Ditto of the sea

Condiciones. Stipulations Conduccion. Conveyance; conduct Conductas. Management; conduct

Conferencias. Meetings

Confianzas. Confidences: trusts

Conquistas. Conquests Consejeros. Counsellors

Consentimiento. Consent; agreement Conservadores.

Preservers

Consignaciones. Consignments; consignation

Consules. Consuls

Consultores. Consultors; counsel

Consumos. Provisions Contado. Cash

Contador de Cuentas. Accountant; bookkeeper

idem de Ordenacion. Bookkeeper

idem de Portes. Freight accountant

idem de Resultas. Accountant of the first class in charge of matters relating to the royal in-

Boatswain

Contramaestre. Contraste. Assayer Contraventas a la ley.

Convenio.

Copetes y guedexas.

Copias.
Coral.
Corambre.
Coro.
Coronacion.
Coroneles.
Corredera.
Corregimientos.

Corregimentos.

Cortes.

Cortes de madera.

Cortesias.
Costas,
Costumbres.
Cuerda.
Cumple-años.
Cumplimiento.

Curaca. Curanderos. Curas.

Curtidores.

Custodia de Papeles. Custodia de Reos.

Dádivas.
Dados.
Daga.
Damas.
Daño.
Darien.

Dean.

Decano de Audiencia.

iden del Consejo.

Declaracion.

Declaratoria.

Decretos.

Dehesas.
Delacion.

Delegado apostolico, Regio y de Ape-

lacion.
Demandas.
Demarcacion.
Demoras.

Sale on reversion of the law

Agreement Invitation Tufts and crests

Copies
Coral
Pelts
Choir
Coronation
Coronels
Log (nautical)

Office, etc., of a corregidor

Postmaster

Privateering; cruise

Cortes
Wood cutting
Courtesies
Costs
Customs

Cord Birthdays

Fulfilment; execution Cacique (Indian title)

Quacks

Parish priests Tanners

Custody of papers Custody of criminals

Gifts
Dice
Dagger
Ladies

Harm; loss; damage

Darien Dean

Dean of the Audiencia Dean of the Council Declaration; manifest Declaratory; explanatory

Decrees

Pasture-ground Delegation; accusation

Apostolic delegate, royal delegate, and

delegate of appeal Complaints; claims Demarcation Delays Depositos.
Derramas.
Desagravios.
Descaminos.

Descomunion (vide Excomunion)

Descriciones.

Describridores.

Desembarco.

Desmembracion.
Despoio.

Deudores.
Dezmerias.
Dezmeros.
Diacono.
Diario.
Dias.
Dietado.

Dietas.

Dignidades Eclesiasticas.

Disminucion de los Indios.

Dinamarqueses.

Dinero.
Divisas.
Division.
Doctor.
Doctoral.

Doctrinas prohibidas de Autores.

Dogmatistas.
Domicilio.
Dominio.
Don.

Dotacion.
Dudas.

Dueños.

Ecónomo.

Edificios.
Embaxadores.
Empaques.
Enagenaciones.
Encuentros.
Enemigos.
Enfermos.
Enganche.

Engaño. Enjunques. Deposits; depositories
Assessment of tax
Satisfaction; vengeance
Seizure of smuggled goods

Excommunication (see Excomunion)

Descriptions; narratives

Discoverers

Landing; disembarcation

Dismemberment Despoliation; plunder

Debters
Tithelands
Tither
Deacon
Journal
Days

Title of dignity or honor

Diets

Ecclesiastical dignities
Decrease of the Indians

Danes Money

Devices; mottoes

Division
Doctor
Doctoral

Prohibited doctrines of Authors

Dogmatists
Domicile
Dominion
Don; Mr.

Endowment; foundation

Doubts

Masters; owners

Administrator of ecclesiastical livings

which are under litigation

Edifices
Ambassadors
Packings
Alienations
Encounters
Enemies
Sick persons
Enlistments
Trick; deceit

The heaviest part of a cargo which

serves as ballast

Enorme. Enormity
Enormisima. Great enormity
Ensaye. Assay; proof

Entradas. Entrances; incursions; raids

Entregas. Deliveries Enviado. Envoy

Escala.

Escoceses.

Escuderos.

Escollo.

Esteras.

Envio. Remittance; consignment

Epiqueya. A mild and prudent interpretation of

the law
Scale; roadway
Scandal; offense

Escandalo. Scandal; offense
Escobilla. Sweepings of gold or s

Sweepings of gold or silver in the workshop of a gold or silversmith

Scotchmen Reef Squires Excuse

Mats

Escusa. Excuse
Escusado. Privy; tax levied on clergy by king

Espadas. Swords

Esponsales. Espousals; betrothals

Estacas.

Estaciones.

Estados.

Estafas.

Estafetaz.

Estambre.

Estambre.

Estameñas.

Stakes

Seasons

States

Trick; deceit

Courier; express

Fine wool

Estameñas.

Serge

Estilo. Style (for writing); form

Estoques. Rapiers
Estrados. Halls of justice
Estudios. Studies
Evangelios. Gospels

Examinados. Persons examined

Excelencia. Excellency (title of respect)

Excomunión. Excommunication

Executions (legal); punishment

Exemptions; privileges

Falda. Skirt
Fallas. Defects
Fallidos. Bankrupts
Falsarios. Counterfeiters
Faltas. Crimes; faults
Faluas. Feluccas

Fanega. A measure of grain or seed of about a

cwt.

Favor, Favor; kindness; help

Fiado.
Fiadores.

Fiat. Fidelidad.

Fe Catolica. Catholic faith
Feble. Light money or coin

Feriados. Applied to the day in which the trib-

unals are shut
Bail; credit
Bondsmen
Fiat

Fidelity

Fiel de Moneda. Inspector of money

Fieles. Inspectors of weights and measures

Filiacion. Regimental registers
Finiquito. Final receipt
Flamencos. Flemish; gypsies

Flotillas. Flotillas

Fomento. Fomentation; encouragement; Min-

istry of Fomento Robbers; villains

Foragidos. Robbers; vi
Forma. Form
Formacion. Formation
Fortaleza. Fort
Francmasones. Freemasons

Franco. France Immunity; franchise

Frayles. Friars
Frontera. Frontier
Fuegos. Fires
Fugitivos. Fugitives
Fundadores. Founders
Futura. Future

Gabelas. Gable
Gallos. Cocks
Ganaderos. Herdsmen
Ganguil. Fishing barge

Garnacha. Robe worn by councillors; dignity of

a Councillor

Gazis. Moors who change their religion

Genoveses. Genovese

Gentiles hombres. Noblemen; gentlemen

Gobierno. Government Graduacion. Graduation

Grandes y Grandezas. Grandees and grandeeships

Gran Maestre de la Orden de San Juan. Grand master of the order of St. John

Granos. Grains

Grefier. Keeper of the rolls
Gremios. Guilds; corporations

Griegos. Greeks
Gualdrapa. Horsecloth

Guarapo.

Guarda-costas.

Guardia de los Virreyes.

Guardianes.

Guardianes de Naos. Guardias Alabarderos.

id de Corps. id Españoles. id Walonas. Guedexas.

Guion. Guipuzcoana.

Habilitado.

Hacedores.

Hacienda Real.

Hamburgueses.

Hebreos.

Hechiceros.

Herederos.

Hereges.

Hermanos. Herramientas.

Herreros.

Hidalguia.

Hijos.

Holgazanes.

Hoque (en Indias Napa).

Horas de trabajo de los Indios.

Horas de Tribunales.

Horros

Hurto.

Idolatria.

Impostura.

Impuestos.

Incendiario.

Incendio.

Incesto.

Incitativas.

Indemnizacion.

Indias.

Indianos.

Infantes.

Ingleses.

Fermented sugarcane liquor

Coast guards

Bodyguard of the viceroys

Guardians

Ship guardians

Bodyguard of halberdiers

Guard of the court

Spanish guards

Walloon guards

Forelocks

Explanatory text accompanying plates

Native of Guipuzcoa

Paymaster

Stewards

Royal treasury

Citizens of Hamburg

Hebrews

Witches

Heirs

Heretics

Brothers

Iron tools.

Blacksmiths

Nobility

Sons

Vagabonds

Treat given on the completion of a

bargain or contract (in the Indies

"Napa")

Hours of work of the Indians

Hours of court

Savings

Theft

Idolatry

Imposture

Imposts

Incendiary

Fire

Incest

Legal writ from a superior to a lower

court

Indemnification

Indies

Indians

Infantes (Spanish princes royal)

English

Inhibicion. Injusticia notoria.

Inquisidor. Insignias. Instancia. Instrumentos. Intereses.

Interrogatorios.

Introductor de embaxadores (o con-

ductor)

Isidro, Patron (San)

Italianos. Itinerarios.

Jardines. Jornada. Jornales. Jovas.

Juez de Aguas.

Juez de Arribadas, Puertos y Alzadas.

Juicios. Jura Real. Jurados.

Labores de Monedas. Labranzas de Comunidad.

Lana de Vicuña. Langosta. Lastres. Lazareto Lectoral.

Legislacion.

Legos. Leguas.

Lengua de los Indios.

Lenguaraz. Lenguas. Lenocinio. Leones.

Lesion. Letrados. Levantiscos.

Ley de Metales. Ley de Monedas. Libertad.

Libertinos. Libramientos. Libreas.

Inhibition; a legal writ Notorious injustice

Inquisitor Insignia

Instance (legal) Instruments Interests Interrogatories

Introducer of embassadors (or con-

ductor)

San Isidro (patron)

Italians Itineraries

Gardens Day's journey Daily wages Jewels

Judge of waters

Judge of ships, ports, and spare stores

Judgments Royal oath Juries

Coining of money Communal farms Vicuña wool Locust. Ballast Lazaretto

Prebend called Lectoral

Legislation Lav brothers Leagues (measure) Language of the Indians

Linguist Languages

The act of pandering

Lions Wound Lawvers Levantines

Law [i.e., fineness] of metals Law [i.e., fineness] of money

Liberty Libertines Warrants to pay

Livery

Libreros. Booksellers
Libres. Free persons

Libros prohibidos. Prohibited books (on the index)

Licenciado.LicentiateLigas.Leagues (body)Literas.LittersLitigantes.LitigantsLlamamiento.Summons

Llave del Sagrario. Key of the Sacristy

Llovidos.

Logreros.

Lonas.

Lonja.

Loteria.

Luteranos.

Luxury; pomp

Maestrantes. Members of societies called "maes-

tranza."

Maestranza. Society of noblemen in Spain for prac-

tising equestrian exercises; navy

yard

Maestre-escuela. Schoolmasters (ecclesiastical digni-

tary)

Maestros de numero en Religiones. Excellent teachers in religious orders

Magisterio.MastershipMagistral.MagistralMaiz.MaizeMalhechores.Criminals

Mallorquines. Inhabitants of Mallorca

Mandamientos. Mandates

Mantenimientos. Maintenance; supplies

Mantos. Cloaks

Mapas Topograficos. Topographical maps
Marcador mayor. Chief assayer

Marcas. Stamps
Marina. Navy
Mariscales. Marshals
Marmato. (Marmot?)

Matanzas de ganado.Slaughtering of cattleMatriculados.Those registeredMayordomo Mayor.Chief stewardidem de Semana.Ditto for the week⁶Mayor-general.General in chief

Mazas. Maces

⁶ A steward serving in the royal palace under the orders of the chief steward during the regular week assigned to him.

Mazeros. Mace bearers
Media-Racion. Prebend in Spanish Cathedrals

Medicinas.MedicinesMemoria.MemoirMenestrales.MechanicsMenor-quantia.Lowest rankMercaderes.MerchantsMerceria.Store

Merinos Mayores. Chief judges of the sheep walks

Mermas. Waste; leakage

Mesa capitular y episcopal.

Capitular and episcopal mass

Mesones y Mesoneros.

Inns and Innkeepers

Mesones y Mesoneros.

Mesta.

Mesta (sheep guild)

Metals.

Metals

Metals

Metropolitano.ArchbishopMezquita.MosqueMil y quinientas.LentilsMilpas.Maize field

Mineros. Miners
Ministros plenipotenciarios. Ministers plenipotentiary

Missioneros. Missionaries

Mitayos. Indians who serve a turn at compul-

sory labor Modas. Customs

Moderacion de Mercedes. Moderation of favors Moderacion de Penas. Moderation of fines

Modification Modification

Mohatras. The act of selling for high prices and buying on the lowest terms, in order to overreach the buyer or seller

Molinos. Mills Monjas. Nuns

Montero de Espinosa.

Distinguished retainer of the royal house of Castile stationed next the

royal bedchamber

Montes. Mountains; woods

Moradores. Inhabitants

Moradores.

Moriscos.

Moros.

Moros.

Motines.

Mutinies

Muchachos.

Moultants

Moriscos

Moriscos

Mutinies

Boys; servants

Muerte. Death
Mugeres. Women
Murmuracion. Slander
Muselinas. Muslins

Naos. Ships

Navarros. Inhabitants of Navarre

Navegaciones. Navigations Naves. Ships Neophitos. Neophites Nieto. Descendant Niños. Children Nobles. Nobles Nobleza. Nobility Nombres Names

Notarios Eclesiasticos. Ecclesiastical notaries

Noticias News; notices Novelties Nunciatura. Nunciature

Obispado. Bishopric Obligacion. Obligation

Obligados a Abastos. Food contractors in cities

Obventions Obventions

Ocultacion. Concealment; occultation of a star

Oficinas. Offices
Olandeses. Hollanders
Olivares. Olive groves
Onzabo. The eleventh part

Ordinaria de Fuerzas. Subsistence expenses of the forces

Origen. Origin
Originales. Originals

Originarios. Descendants; natives

Orives. Goldsmiths
Ornamentos. Ornaments
Oropimente. Orpiment

Pabellon.TentPacificacion.PacificationPadres.Fathers; parentsPadrino.GodfatherPadrones.PatronsPaga.Payment

Palomares. Dovecots; a hard twisted linen thread

Panaderos. Bake

Palizada.

Paneada. Contract for disposing of goods by

wholesale

Palisade

Paños. Cloth
Papa. Pope

Papel sellado. Stamped paper Paquebotes. Packet boats

Parada. Halting place; parade

Paraguay. Paraguay Parciales. Partisans

Parcialidades.
Pareceres.

Parlamentarios.

Parricidio.
Pasage.
Pasaportes.

Pases.

Pasquines.
Pastores.
Patrimoniales.

Patrimonio.
Patronos (Santos).

Pavordias.

Pecado Nefando.
Pedimento.
Pélicanos.
Penas.
Pendolage.

Pendolage.
Penitenciados.
Penitenciario.
Penitentes.
Peonia.

Perdon.

Personero.
Pertrechos.
Pescadores.

Pescadores.
Pesquerias
Pesquisidor.
Peticiones.
Piedras.
Pifanos.

Pilotin.

Piloto mayor.
Pistoletes.
Plantios.

Platino. Pleyto-Homenage.

Pluralidad.
Pobladores.
Pobres.
Policia.
Poligamia.
Polizas.

Pontazgo.

Factions Opinions

Members of parliament

Parricide Passage Passports

Judicial permits; passports; written permission to carry or sell goods

from place to place

Lampoons Shepherds

Patrimonial possessions

Patrimony Patron saints

Place and dignity of a provost

Unnatural crime

Petition Pelicans Fines

Plunder of a captured vessel One punished by the Inquisition Penitentiary (ecclesiastical dignitary)

Penitents

Quantity of land given to a soldier in

a conquered country

Pardon

Deputy, agent; attorney Ammunition; war supplies

Fishermen Fisheries Examiner Petitions Stones Fifes

Second pilot or pilot's apprentice

Chief pilot
Pocket pistols
Plantations
Platinum
Homage
Plurality
Settlers
Beggars
Police
Polygamy

Order for the payment of money; cus-

toms house permit

Bridge toll

Pontifical.

Pontones.

Portazgos.

Posadas.

Posas.

Pragmatica.

Preboste.
Precedencia.
Preeminencia.

Pregonero.

Prensas.

Prestameras.

Principe.

Prior y Prioratos.

Prision.
Proceso.
Prohibicion.

Prometidos.

Proteccion Soberana.
Protestantes.

Proto-Notarios.
Proveido.
Provincia.

Puchueles [Puchuelas, Putxuelas?].

Pueblos.
Punzones.

Quadra. Quadrilleros.

Quarenteria [Quarentena?].

Quarteles.
Quarterones.
Quatreros.
Quatri-annata.

Qüestores. Quiebras. Quindenios.

Quitaciones.

Rancherias.
Rebelion.
Recados.

Receptadores.
Receptoria.

Recibidor de la Orden de San Juan.

Pontifical

Pontoon bridges

Toll

Lodging house

Ringing of bells for the dead

Posts

Royal ordinance

Provost
Precedence
Preeminence

Town crier; herald

Presses

Holder of a benefice not requiring at-

tendance Prince

Prior and priories

Prison

Process; lawsuit Prohibition

Promises; overbidding Sovereign protection

Protestants Protonotaries

Sentence; judgment; decree

Province

(Name of Indian tribe in America?)

Towns

Puncheons; punches

Stable

Commanders of armed band; rural

police in the Philippines

Lent (?)

Quarters; barracks Quadroons Animal thief

(Annati of the quarter year?)

Mendicant Bankruptcy

Space of fifteen years

Wages

Collection of huts

Rebellion

Compliments; gifts
Receiver of stolen goods
Receiver's or treasurer's office
Recipient of the order of St. John

Recogidas.

Recogimiento. Recomendacion. Recompensas. Reconocimiento. Recopilacion.

Recuas.

Recudimiento.

Redencion.
Redentores.
Rediezmos.
Refaccion.
Refugio.
Refundicion.

Regadio.

Regalias de la Real Corona.

Regreso.
Rehenes.
Relaxados.
Relief.
Religion.
Religiosas.
Remedio.

Remision de caudales.

iden de cosas.
iden de pena.
Remisiones.
Remontas.
Reemplazos.
Reparos.
Repartidor.
Repesos.
Reposteros.
Reprehension.
Requinto.

Requisitoria.
Requisitos.

Resello de generos. iden de papel. Resguardo.

Resignaciones de Beneficios.

Restitucion. Retasas. Women in a house of correction or

retreat

Retreat or correction Recommendation Compensations

Recognition; survey; inspection

Collection Droves

Power vested in a person to gather

taxes or rent Redemption Redeemers

The ninth part of crops already tithed

Refection; restitution Refuge; asylum Refounding of metals

Irrigation

Prerogatives of the royal crown Act of resigning a benefice to another

Hostages

Dissipated persons

Warrant for an officer to receive

Religion; religious order

Nuns Remedy

Remission of funds Remission of things Remission of fines Remissions

Remounts

Substitutes in the militia

Repairs

Assessor of taxes
Second weighings
Royal butlers
Reprimand; censure

Second fifth; extraordinary impost levied on Peruvians in time of

Philip II

Requisitory writ (legal)

Requisites

Restamp of goods Ditto of paper

Guard; body of customhouse officers

Resignations of benefices

Restitution Reassessments Retencion.

Retornos. Retracto. Retreta.

Revendedores. Rey de Armas.

Reynado.
Reyno.
Rezagos.
Riesgos.
Rifas.
Robos.
Ropas.
Rubrica.

Ruego y Encargo.

Rufianes.

Saca de moneda. Sacerdotes. Sacramentos. Sacrilegio. Sacristan mayor.

Sal. Saludos.

Santos Lugares de Jerusalen.

Sardos. Sastres. Secretarias. Secretario.

Secretarios de Estado.

Secularizacion.
Sede-vacante.
Seguros.
Semanero.

Sementera. Señas.

Señoras de honor.

Señoria. Sequestro. Setenas.

Sitio.

Situaciones. Sobordo. Sobornos. Retention; suspension by the king of the use of any rescript proceeding

from ecclesiastical authority Repayments for favors; barter

Retrieval
Retreat (mil.)
Retailers
King at arms

King at a Reign Kingdom Residues Dangers Disputes Thefts Clothes Rubric

Petition and charge Ruffians; panders

Money bag Priests Sacraments Sacrilege. Chief sacristan

Salt Salutes

Holy places of Jerusalem

Sardinians
Tailors
Secretaryships
Secretary

Secretaries of state Secularization Vacant see Securities

One who enters upon weekly duties in

turn Sown field Signs

Ladies of honor Lordship Sequestration

Seven things of a kind; punishment demanding payment seven-fold

Townsite

Situations; positions; assignments

Manifest; freightlist

Bribes

Sobresueldo. Socabon. Sociedad Medica.

Sociedades Economicas.

Socorros.
Solares.
Soliman.
Sólitas.

Soltero. Solturas.

Sub-Inspectores. Sub-diacono. Subscripciones.

Success.
Sugestion.

Sumiller de Corps. Sumilleres de Cortina.

Suplemento. Suplicacion. Suplicatoria.

Tabernas.
Tabla.
Tablado.
Tablage.
Tachas.
Tambo.
Tambores.

Tanores (Indios).

Tanto por ciento de Administracion.

Tanto por ciento de contratos. Tarima. Tasacion.

Tejos de oro y plata.

Telares.
Tenedores.
Tenerias.

Tenutas.

Tercios.
Terminos.
Ternas.
Territorios.
Tesoreros.

Tesoros.

Testamentarias.

Bonus Mine pit

Medical society Economic societies

Assistance Ground plots Corrosive sublimate (Customary things?)

Bachelor

Release; licentiousness

Sub-inspectors Sub-deacon

Subscriptions; signatures

Swedes
Suggestion
Lord chambe

Lord chamberlain

Vice groom of the king's bedchamber

Supplement

Supplication; request; appeal

Letters rogatory

Taverns Board; table Stage; flooring

Pile of boards; gambling house Imperfections; a small nail

Inn Drums

Filipinos acting as servants to the

Spaniards

Such and such a per cent for admin-

istration

Such and such a per cent for contract

Bedstead Valuation

Ingots of gold and silver

Looms

Holders; guardians

Tannery

Provisional possession of an estate

during a lawsuit Infantry regiments Boundaries Ternary numbers Territories

Treasurers Treasures

Testamentary executions

Testimoniales.

Tigres.

Titulados de Castilla.

Tocas.

Tomas de razon.

Tomin.
Toneleros.
Tormento.
Tornaguia.

Toros.
Trabajos.
Traicion.
Transgresos.
Traslado.
Traspaso.

Tratados de paces.

Tratantes.
Tratos.

Tres por ciento.
Tres tanto.
Trompetas.
Trucos.
Trueques.
Tunecinos.
Turno.

Union de armas. id de Beneficios. id de oficios. Urcas. Usufructo. Usura. Utilidades. Uxieres.

Vacaciones.

Vales.
Valor del oro y plata.

Vasallos. Vecinos. Veintavo.

Veinteno del oro.

Vellon. Venganza. Ventajas. Verdugos. Via-reservada. Testimonials

Tigers

Nobles of Castile Hoods; toques Account books Tomin (coin) Coopers

Torment; torture

Return of a receipt issued by the

custom house Bulls; bullfights Works; labors Treachery; treason Transgressions

Copy

Conveyance; transfer Treaties of peace Dealers; merchants Trade; pacts Three per cent Triplicate Trumpets

Trucks, a game resembling billiards

Exchange; barter Tunisians

Alliance in arms Union of profits Trades unions Hooker; storeship

Usufruct

Interest; usury Utensils; tools

Ushers

Turn

Vacations; holidays; recesses of court

Bonds; promissory notes Value of gold and silver

Vassals

Citizens; inhabitants

The twentieth part of a thing

Cloth of gold

Copper coin of Castile

Revenge

Advantages; profits Executioners

Secret correspondence

Vidas de Empleos. Vidas de Encomiendas.

Villetes. Vinculo. Volcan. Voz.

Xabeques.

Zanja. Zapatero. Zumaque. Zurrador.

Zurron.

Zahorra.

Zambaygo. Zambo.

APENDICE III.

Palabras que figuran en el ejemplar del Diccionario de nuestro Archivo Historico, sin constar en el Indice.

Alabarderos. Alijos. Capitanes. Clausura. Comandancias. Depositaria.

Estampilla. Gallinas.

Grumetes.

Hierro. Interdiccion. Japones. Mojones. Oleos. Quito.

Remociones. Representaciones.

Sectarios. Tegidos. Traductor. Lives of employments or posts

Lives of encomiendas

Notes: bills Chain; entail Volcano Vote

Xebecs

Ballast

Son of an Indian by a Chinese woman, or of a Chinaman and Indian woman

Same as Zambaygo

Ditch Shoemaker Sumach-tree Tanner Bag; seroon

APPENDIX III.

Words appearing in the copy of the Dictionary in our Historical Archives, which do not appear in the Index.

Halberdiers Smuggled goods Captains Cloister

District of a commander

Depository

Small print; signet; stamp

Hens

Common seamen

Iron Interdict Japanese Landmarks

A dye wood of South America; Quito

(city) Removals

Representations; powers of attorney

Secretaries Textiles Translator

RESCATES: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CUBA, 1599–1610¹

The war between Spain and England died with Elizabeth, in 1603. The first large era of Cuba's history ended with that war's beginning, as Drake sailed home in 1586; and the second large era opened when the maestre de campo Don Juan de Texeda entered Havana to begin work on the city's fortifications. During these seventeen years of warfare the colony benefited, in that the force of necessities which the struggle created, built great forts, in the long shadow of which the sugar industry developed; constructed ships in Havana harbor for the king's reorganizing navy; and, to supply artillery for his use on land and sea, worked the island's copper deposits near Havana and especially at Santiago de Cuba.

The first phase of this second era of Cuba's history dwindled away with the years 1594 and 1595, when the formidable English squadrons which had been blockading Havana disappeared: they had work to do off the coasts of Spain itself, for "offensive operations in grand form" had been resumed. The English pol-

¹ At the Congress for the Progress of Sciences, held in 1917 at Seville, in the History Section, presided over by Dr. Rafael Altamira, Miss Wright presented a paper entitled "El Maestre de Campo, don Juan de Texeda", which was, in effect, an account of the beneficial effects on Cuba of the long war between Elizabeth of England and Philip II. of Spain, and, last summer, at the following Congress for the Progress of Sciences, held at Bilbao, in the History Section, and introduced by Dr. Altamira, Miss Wright presented the following paper on "Rescates", which is, in effect, an account of the detrimental effects on Cuba of that same war. Both papers are based entirely upon original research in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville, Spain. The references below cited indicate only a very few of the perhaps more important papers used in preparation of this contribution.

² "It is Drake's disgrace (after the failure of the Lisbon expedition) marks a second point at which the conduct of the war again entirely changed (1588). From the naval point of view, the new phase was one in which the plausible but unsound ideas of Hawkins were allowed to supersede the more drastic doctrine of his pupil. From the level of offensive operations in grand form, the war sank to mere commerce destroying. . . ." Julian S. Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1912), II. 335.

icy to bring the war nearer home to Philip than his Indies meant a truce in Cuba's tribulations, which multiplied whenever hostilities "sank to mere commerce destroying".

Through the following second phase of this second era, however, the English continued to reappear in ones and twos in every port of Cuba, excepting Havana. Although English men of arms were called elsewhere, English men of business did not cease to wage on the Catholic king in his Indies a peculiar, draining, harrying commercial form of warfare which, when Don Pedro de Valdes arrived as governor of Cuba, was shown to have reduced the island to conditions almost incredible.

These conditions were the reverse of the medal: they were the detrimental effects on Cuba of the war with England—the results of its influence working through the media of Spain's monopolistic laws on trade and commerce. For, while the seapower of England built castles and ships, manufactured sugar and cast guns, in Cuba, it also swelled the number of corsairs along her coasts; harassed legitimate business; made lawbreakers of all her colonists—men, women, and children, laity and clergy alike—and actually, through their disaffection, weakened the foundations of Philip's empire in the west, as no assemblage of enemy ships off Havana harbor had ever succeeded in doing.

Formally, hostilities between Spain and England ended with the accession of James I.—they had ceased in fact before that. That they had ceased was scarcely observable in Cuba, where the island's authorities were engaged, then and through some years thereafter, in attempting to eradicate the results of what one might well call the war's informal hostilities.

It had been Drake's intention to dislocate Philip II.'s finances by interrupting his receipt of colonial remittances of plate—gold, silver, and precious stones—on which as sinews of war depended that king's European policies³ including inimical designs upon England herself. When, despite the protection of great galleons of the reorganized navy, the Spanish fleets in 1590–91, 1594–95, 1601–2, found it advisable to spend half a year at a time bottled

³ Dr. Rafael Altamira takes issue with the supposition that Philip's European policies depended upon revenues from America.

up in Havana harbor, the effect in Spain was financial demoralization as complete as Drake can have dreamed of causing, and yet this demoralization was by no means all the damage the enemy achieved. More was wrought, to the Spaniard's finances and to his prestige, by rescates: illegitimate trade in Indies, of which the English had no monopoly.

The word rescates means goods delivered in barter or as ransom. Doubtless because the colonists in Indies were accustomed to claim that they were forced by foreign corsairs frequenting their ports to trade with them, or see their property destroyed, the word came to mean goods exchanged in barter with foreign traders, and, finally, was accepted as the general and official designation for that whole volume of illegitimate business. Spanish colonists who so traded were rescatadores, and the foreigners with whom they dealt were at first called corsairs, which means, merely, "those who cruise". The term is not uncomplimentary; it is synonymous with, let us say, "sea dog". Pedro Menendez de Aviles applied it to himself, meaning that he was thoroughly experienced in navigation. Although they were usually quite capable of insulting a Catholic church, and always prone to discourage competition in their market by taking possession of any competitor they could overhaul, nevertheless, through the second half of the sixteenth century the corsairs of the Caribbean were a fairly respectable body of men—merchant traders on their own account, or the energetic representatives of others who directed activities from home offices in England, Flanders, and France. After about 1600 the word corsair was replaced by pirate; this, now, was not without a sinister shade of meaning, for enforcement (or attempted enforcement) of Spanish prohibitions against them, began to alter the humor of these outlaw traders.

The business of rescates was not new, not even to the English who, presenting themselves⁴ in Santo Domingo harbor as early as 1527–8, claimed a right to trade freely in Spain's colonial ports on the strength of an ancient treaty. John Hawkins's voyages were doubtless not the next, nor does it seem probable that he

⁴ A. de I., 139-1-7, V. 13, p. 258, cedulas reales to authorities at Santo Domingo.

invented the ways he took to circumvent Philip's laws. The French had not been willing to acquiesce in the Catholic king's determination to maintain his religious, political, and commercial monopoly of that large portion of the New World to which the pope, as God's vicar on earth, had declared him absolute master in all secular matters. Against Calvinists in Florida Pedro Menendez de Aviles enforced Philip's religious and political monopoly, but in so far as commercial monopoly was concerned, Menendez was defeated—by the countless nimble trading vessels which swarmed out of Abra de Gracia especially, and, in every inlet of the long broken coastline of the island of Cuba, over which he himself was governor, outwitted his cumbersome galleons detailed "to guard the coasts and ports of Indies". Now, too (1598 forward), the confederated "rebel states of Flanders", declaring that the Catholic king's hindrance of navigation and commerce with the western hemisphere, was against the rights of nations, sought "to contract friendships among certain nations and foreign kingdoms, and", further, "for many other reasons" sent "a goodly number of ships in good order" into Spanish colonial waters.⁵ Nor were Italian traders lacking there.

Yet according to Spanish law, foreigners had no right so to intrude upon Spain's New World. Ferdinand's and Isabella's policies had been shaped by conditions in Spain, where religious fanaticism had obliterated all possible lines of political cleavage, and they could not alter to suit different conditions in the antipodes; therefore, even among the Catholic monarchs' own subjects, only the preferred were supposed to be permitted to pass to Indies—only "old Christians", which means not only persons untainted by charges of heresy, but also persons unsullied by unclean Jewish, and especially by Moorish, or, in fact, by any foreign blood. However, after Charles V. "of Germany", and, after him, Philip II., began to indulge in wars over a field embracing Italy on the one side and Flanders on the other, especially when they extended the sovereignty of the Spanish crown to its widest, including Portugal, then Italians, Germans (in broad

⁶ A. de I., 2-5-1/23.

sense of the word), and especially Portuguese, seem to have found Spanish laws no hindrance to their clearance for Spanish ports in Indies. Neither, even when relations were bitterest between the Catholic king and his Most Christian cousin of France, were Frenchmen lacking there. I have seen less mention of English during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century.

It was a German who first worked to effect the excellent copper deposits of Cuba, and for casting this metal masters of the same nationality were more than once the sole reliance, just as they were in Spain itself, until, as one document puts it, "the great master, the German", came to teach his art to Spaniards. Germans and Italians and Portuguese were the best artillerymen Cuba's earliest garrisons knew: Spaniards were not to be had who understood gunnery, precisely as they were not available in sufficient numbers in Spain itself, until, under pressure of war, the crown founded a school for their training. Even Frenchmen served among the soldiers upon whom Cuba depended for defense, and in 1600 a trumpeter of Havana's garrison who insisted that he was a Fleming, was taken to Spain accused of being English and a spy. The Portuguese had long been recognized as the most successful agriculturists: cedulas were issued to them more than once, not only authorizing, but rewarding, their settlement in the island.

These foreigners crossed in the fleets, especially in ships' crews, and their presence abroad was known to the House of Trade at Seville, which cleared them. Accused of admitting foreigners to these crews, the House replied, simply, that there were not enough Spanish mariners available to man the ships. It is significant to note that one applicant for a customs house post at Havana recommended himself as especially qualified to inspect arriving vessels because he knew languages and could deal with foreigners aboard.

Nor were all there without adequate authorization. Though none but the Portuguese cited general *cedulas* in their behalf, there can be no doubt that many merchants of foreign nationality

⁶ A. de I., 54-1-16, House of Trade to the crown, Seville, July 26, 1611.

did business in Indies, and traveled that part of the world, under specific licenses to do so. These could be granted, according to the law of 1592. Some claimed naturalization, under cedulas of 1561 and 1562, which were issued to the Canaries and Tierra Firme and declared those foreigners naturalized who had lived ten years there and married native women; if they were naturalized, then they had the right to do business in Indies. Still others affected to consider their naturalization in Spain extensive to the Indies, and others yet dealt through agents concerning whose right to travel in the New World there could be no question.

Once ashore in Cuba, there is evidence that foreigners who for any reason whatsoever desired to remain and throw in their lot with the country, readily arranged matters by taking out papers of vecindad. These were granted by the municipalities, always anxious to increase their permanent population and, what worked to the advantage of any foreign-born citizen who got into trouble, always keen to defend their jurisdiction over their own vecinos. In Havana itself there were foreigners avecindados—not only Portuguese, but also French, Italians, and Flemings—"poor people", Valdes explained, fishermen, sawyers, and carpenters, so very useful in their trades that the community could ill afford to part with them, nor did it part.

It is especially interesting to discover, in these old papers at Seville, how little holy horror the fact that these foreigners (especially the transient traders) were usually heretics, inspired in the Catholic colonists of Cuba. Protestants, Calvinists, and Lutherans, they distributed heretical books translated into

⁷ In 1608 the council for Indies assured the crown that the foreign interest in the fleets from Indies amounted to two-thirds of the gold and silver which the royal armada escorted home. This was described as especially detrimental because the profits from the business this represented went abroad, to heretic kingdoms largely. Measures were at once taken to curtail such prosperity. It was ordered that Hollanders, Zelanders, French, Germans, and English (north-Europeans), and any Portuguese or Italians caught in their company, be hanged at once, if taken west of the Canaries. Spanish captains general of armadas and fleets, governors and other officials of high category, were instructed (September 13, 1608) to this effect. No massacre seems to have followed.

⁸ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Dec. 15, 1605.

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Spanish, thereby jeopardizing the souls, especially of the rustics, to quote Governor Valdes, particularly the Indians and the blacks, "barbarous peoples", among whom they did proselyting. The French Catholics who not infrequently traveled in their company were too few to ameliorate the general designation applied to foreign traders, of "heretic pirates, enemies of the king". And yet, between these heretic enemies, and his most Catholic majesty's subjects in Cuba, not only business relations, but also intimate social relations existed: the pirates and the people ashore are described as "eating and drinking and sleeping together". Such was the familiarity among them, the council for Indies informed the king, that the colonists, having no physician of their own, brought their sick to the pirates to be treated.

Governors' reported that the root of the whole evil of rescates lay in the alcaldes. It was their duty to prosecute and punish this trade; instead, they were themselves the worst rescatadores, "being the persons of most means". Not even governors' lieutenants were exempt from the contagion.

Neither did the local clergy exert any corrective influence: far from it! More than one cura was implicated, and they were slower than their flocks to reform, it was said. Precisely at Baracoa, where no religious could be persuaded to stay excepting lawless friars abroad without permission of their superiors, Fray Alonso de Guzman was accused of having correspondence with France, Flanders, and England, and of visiting Guayabes (a pirate rendezvous of La Española) in person: there are preserved at Seville certain most curious letters said to have passed between Fray Alonso and the pirates, some of which are signed "the pastor". "And if these things are discovered against the clergy, your majesty may imagine what has been discovered against the guilty laity!" The bishop of Cuba considered that

⁹ A. de I., 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 18, 1603.

¹⁰ A. de I., 54-2-8, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, Oct. 15, 1607.

¹¹ A. de I., 54-2-7.

¹² For lack of space I have omitted all reference to the good bishop, Fray Juan de las Cabezas Altamirano, who at this time (1603–4) traveled through the island of Cuba, had his own unpleasant experiences with both pirates and the "soulless" among his flock at Bayamo, and never appeared to greater advantage

the climax had been achieved when one man refused to have his child christened until the pirate could arrive who was to be its godfather!

On a population through which the presence and activity of foreigners had long so worked, like leaven-a population comprising, in addition to them, some few Indians and mestizos; some mulattoes and a large proportion of blacks, both slave and free; "natives", as Valdes called the colonials born, the criollos; and Spaniards, in whom loyalty to the crown had never been synonymous with obedience to its inconvenient laws—on such a population, all unbroken to restraint, the Spanish king for reasons sought in the last decade of the sixteenth and in the first of the seventeenth centuries, to enforce old laws which had relaxed and new ones which were enacted, to prohibit long established trade between Cuba, and England, France, and Flanders. With those countries, his majesty was informed. Cuba had closer communication than the island was permitted to enjoy with Spain. At the same time, while insisting upon eliminating this illegitimate trade, the crown not only did not consent to alleviate the cramping restrictions under which legitimate business labored but actually drew those restrictions tighter, all for the benefit of the merchants of Seville.

No more prejudicial monopoly ever existed than Seville's monopoly of Spain's colonial trade, which now (1590 forward) was renewed and enforced: it was the price the colonies paid, on behalf of the Catholic king, for the Seville merchants' support of that portion of his navy which was detailed to protect the western trade routes, especially against the English, and particularly to convoy safe over them the royal revenues sent from Tierra Firme and from Mexico.

Spanish business with the colonies paid various export and import duties, and numerous charges, fees, dues, etc. Not the king himself could understand the colony's accounts, much as he

as a good man and a good Christian than in his letters written at this period. It is especially interesting to note that they were the civil authorities of the island, not the religious, who in these years recommended (vainly) the establishment of the inquisition in Cuba to deal with rescatadores.

paid to experts to elucidate them; therefore a student who is not specializing in this important field may be permitted to admit uncertainty as to how much the traffic from Cuba was asked to bear, but there is no evidence that the tariff, or other similar burdens, was onerous. I believe that it was proportionately less than the American government has laid on American business under the most lenient protective tariff the United States has ever had; even a free trader cannot maintain that Spain abused Cuba, in these years, by way of tariffs.

What was galling were those restrictions on commerce which maintained Seville's monopoly, and the fleet system—a part of it. The general law was that merchantmen must cross to the colonies in two annual fleets, and return in the same manner, on a more or less permanent schedule, over a fixed route. They cleared from and returned to, Seville. This system was the means whereby Spain's entire legitimate trade with the New World¹³ was controlled, and mercilessly exploited, for the benefit of the merchants of Seville, among whom, it is interesting to note that foreigners, especially the English, were a recognized and important element.¹⁴

The merchants of Seville resented any disturbance or diminution of the demand on which they relied. Therefore, they were not willing that the king's despatch boats, the *capitanas* or the *almirantas* of the fleets, or the galleons of the guard, should carry cargo—"abuses", these, which were probably never eradicated. They resented any vessel's deviating from the course for which it was cleared. Similarly, they protested against "loose ships", that is, against clearance of vessels, under special permit to leave Spain for Indies between fleets.

There was, of course, considerable inter-colony traffic over the Caribbean. This traffic had always been more or less free. From the continent Cuba got foodstuffs (maize, meat, salt, fish,

¹³ Try as they might, neither northern ports nor Cadiz succeeded in breaking this monopoly.

¹⁴ There are many very interesting documents in the Archives of the Indies bearing upon this point, among them the by no means humble protest entered against a moratorium, on Oct. 21, 1610, by Juan Gallardo de Cespedes, "protector and conservator general of all the foreign nations", to be found in 143–5–5.

honey, fowls) to feed the civil and military population of Havana especially. The island was never self-sustaining. Governor Maldonado estimated¹⁵ that it produced only meat, cazabi, and corn enough for perhaps one quarter of the year. In those things which could come from Europe only, the island bitterly complained that it was insufficiently supplied by the vessels, said to be few and small, which cleared from Seville for Havana with the Mexican fleet. Havana repeatedly asserted her need of cargoes "outside the fleets": so, too, did Bayamo and Santiago, and even the less important port of Principe. Governor Maldonado declared that the ordinances which permitted vessels to leave Spain for Havana only with the Mexican fleet, actually jeopardized the safety of the place. He cried out that "the contradictions of merchants"—the short-sighted interests of Seville—should not be permitted to endanger a stronghold as important as Havana, by starving out its civilians and its garrison.

Sometimes these insistent petitions for "loose ships" were granted: more frequently they were denied, the House of Trade, and prior and consuls at Seville having been consulted. Sometimes it was stated frankly that to grant the colonies' demands would entail loss to the Seville merchants, and this was good reason for refusal. Or again the crown was informed that the necessities alleged were mere pretense, the colonists' real desire being to provide a cloak for illicit business done by such "loose ships", especially, it is to be inferred, through the Canaries.¹⁶

Fleet cargoes were always nicely calculated to maintain top prices in the colonial market. Worse yet, not only were good food and clothing which arrived through these legitimate channels expensive, but sometimes they were not to be had at all, for, if Cuba was insufficiently supplied by the fleets, its situation must certainly have been serious when, as happened time and again, these fleets failed to make their annual voyage, because the seas were kept unsafe by the Catholic king's adventurous

¹⁵ A. de I., 54-2-5, Maldonado to the crown, Havana, Nov. 22, 1593.

¹⁶ A volume might be written upon the relations between Cuba and the Canaries, and upon the very great influence of "the islands" upon that colony's development.

enemies. Then, the settlements lamented, they were left without wine, oil, or vinegar, three articles without which, the documents at Seville make plain, no Spanish colony could be expected to exist to serve any majesty, neither the temporal nor the divine. Meanwhile, off shore hung the pirates, offering wines, silks, slaves, linens, spices, hardware, etc., at bargain prices quoted in hides: and hides were to be had for the hunting, for the whole island of Cuba was full of cattle run wild! These being the conditions, it was to be expected that no mandate from the king, no censure of the church, could suffice to prevent the colonists from faring down to the ports, to the pirate ships, where the women were said to go as to the marketplace, to trade.

From early times, again and again, from every quarter, by many persons, the Catholic king was informed that the real need his subjects felt, situated as, for instance, were those of eastern Cuba, in a land which produced only the roughest food and no wearing apparel—their real need, was the reason why they traded so "shamelessly" with heretic enemies of his state and the church. Bishop Cabezas wrote¹⁷ that it was "greatest necessity" rather than "covetousness" which had "opened the door" to this business: he thought that had governors seen the people's needs as he had, the matter would have been remedied long before. The factor, Francisco de Varte, at Seville, in recommending that a ship with food supplies be cleared for Havana, stated¹⁸ that it was hard necessity which had driven the colonists to get what they must have, by what means they could.

At the beginning of the year 1599 Governor Maldonado sent¹⁹ Sergeant Juan Gutierrez, with eight men, to investigate *rescates* at Baracoa, with orders to arrest persons guilty of trading, and to bring them to Havana. At Baracoa the sergeant arrested five or six persons, whereupon the rest involved, "who had fled to the woods", came to an agreement with certain Flemings and French,

¹⁷ A. de I., 54-3-1, Cabezas to the crown, Bayamo, Sept. 28, 1607.

¹⁸ A. de I., 143-5-1, de Varte to the crown, Seville, Jan. 22, 1608. It was alleged that the House of Trade made the refusal or granting of permission to "loose ships" a source of illegitimate profit to its employes.

¹⁹ A. de I., 54-1-15, Maldonado to the crown, Havana, Mar. 30, 1599.

then in a neighboring port, and so reinforced, descended upon the town, released the sergeant's prisoners, and themselves took him into custody. This demonstration of his inability20 (which he frankly confessed) to check illicit trade, so angered Maldonado that he assured the king that Baracoa was the sink of the island, inhabited by some thirty men of various nationalities and colors, in charge of half-outlawed priests (the only sort who would abide there); the port was a rendezvous of pirates, a good lair from which they sallied forth to capture vessels approaching from the Canaries, and because neither God nor the king was served in Baracoa, he earnestly recommended that the oldest city in Cuba be "depopulated", that is, razed and its inhabitants scattered. Such drastic remedy was applied in La Española. The crown on May 30, 1600, called on the audiencia at Santo Domingo for a report on the suggestion, and in 1606, considered²² removing Trinidad "nearer to Santiago" in order to curtail rescates there. In 1605, Nuñez de Toledo recommended²³ that Bayamo, the second largest settlement in Cuba, be "depopulated, because the place is of profit only to enemies of . . . the crown and there is there little virtue or truth".

In June, 1602, Don Pedro de Valdes arrived as governor of Cuba. He seems to have come inspired with determination to proceed vigorously against rescates, and he immediately sent forth armadillas to hunt pirates by sea.

These armadillas, small squadrons, armed to encounter pirates, became established institutions during Valdes's incumbency. Having failed in Spain to get out of the crown such a patroling squadron as he had desired, Don Pedro created the best possible substitutes from the means at hand in Cuba. He got money from local merchants and fighting men from among citizens and adventurers, who were attracted by the hope of prize money.

²⁰ This was by no means the only instance of colonists and pirates together turning against the authority of the king in opposing representatives of the governors.

 $^{^{21}}$ A. de I., 78–2–1, III., p. 162, cedula real to the audiencia at Santo Domingo, May 30, 1600.

²² A. de I., 78-2-2, V. 5, p. 70 r., cedula real, Nov. 20, 1606.

²³ A. de I., 54-2-7, Nuñez de Toledo to the crown, Havana, July 10, 1605.

Sometimes he helped himself to soldiers from Havana's forts, and he was accused of using the forts' powder, fuse and shot on pirate hunting excursions. Eventually he laid a tax of a real or so each on hides entering Havana, and on tallow, receipts to go to the support of his armadillas, which were organized not only in Havana but also in Bayamo and at Santiago.

Bitter and various were the allegations made against Don Pedro by his enemies with respect to these armadillas. He was accused of "superfluity of covetousness" after prize money, of himself engaging in rescates, and of interfering with the island's legitimate trade with other colonies, especially Florida.

Since he fully realized²⁴ the danger inherent in rescates, danger which he analyzed as spiritual, economic, military, and political, it is possible that Don Pedro was honest in his activity; it might even be that he had inherited some of his father-in-law's vigorous views on the propriety of punishing audacious disregard for the Catholic king's laws, and perhaps a little (but only a little) of that good old fanatic's desire to serve Christ, Our Lord, in discomfiting heretic enemies of the Holy Catholic faith.

At all events, Don Pedro was as vigorous by land as by sea. He reported²⁵ that, ashore, the wealth of the colony belonged to Portuguese and other foreigners who had arrived as mariners, become vecinos, but were traitors nevertheless to the Spanish king: he had been warned that they meant to deliver the island over to the king's enemies, and Valdes said that he believed them quite capable of harboring such intention. He said that the island was to be conquered again: that two-thirds of its population were foreigners. He asked authority to expel "most of the vecinos, because they are not natives". He desired especially to be rid of the Portuguese because they were the best off and therefore the most dangerous.

Valdes's lieutenant-governor was Suarez de Poaga. As soon as this lawyer had finished the usual routine inquisition into Maldonado's administration, Don Pedro sent him inland (about Sep-

²⁴ A. de I., 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 18, 1603.

²⁵ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Sept. 25, 1602.

tember, 1602) to "visit" the interior, and especially to "punish and check the great disorder, development, and liberty of rescates and rescatadores with heretics and enemies."26 He was accompanied by soldiery. He was especially active at Bayamo, where, when it became known that the lieutenant-governor had captured a certain set of books, two hundred vecinos vanished from the town, citizens described²⁷ as the "richest in property and most widely related". Poaga forthwith accused eighty persons of rebellion and sentenced them to death and confiscation of property. Inasmuch as the culprits could not be caught, no executions occurred, or, if caught, they could not be hung or quartered at Bayamo, nor taken to Havana since travel overland was impossible; nor was it any more possible by sea, because for six months pirates hung off the mouth of the Cauto, ready to attack any vessel setting forth with prisoners. Poaga did not venture to visit Santiago. Having set out for that city, a warning stopped him short, at the Prado mines. Meanwhile pirates landed and went from door to door through Santiago, demanding him, "el iusticiero".

Matters stood at a draw when the *audiencia* at Santo Domingo, acting on the ground that Poaga had allowed no appeals, thereby violating existing ordinances "and taking other liberties", ordered²⁸ Governor Valdes to send him a prisoner to La Española, all pending cases to be turned over to local courts. On receipt of this order from the *audiencia* Valdes obeyed it, as emanating from his superior, but he declined to comply with it. Poaga went to Spain, for his honor's sake, and eventually the crown returned him to his office.

Valdes exclaimed²⁹ that neither civil nor religious justice prevailed against pirates: they defended themselves aboard Spanish vessels which they had taken from Spanish owners, with Spanish guns adorned with the humbled arms of the king of Spain! By friends ashore they were forewarned of expeditions planned

²⁶ A. de I., 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 18, 1603.

²⁷ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Jan. 3, 1604.

²⁸ A. de I., 79-4-2, V. 5, p. 124 r., cedula real, Oct. 30, 1604.

²⁹ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Sept. 22, 1603.

against them. "Either I have not been able to represent this danger as serious as it is, or else", he wrote,30 "in the council it has not appeared to be of any moment, for no decision has been reached, nor have I received any answer at all in the matter."

Meanwhile, Valdes had duly reported³¹ that on January 24, 1603, the English and French had landed five hundred men on the island of Jamaica, but were driven off with loss. These same allied enemies had cut out a capitana and an almiranta from the very Puerto de Caballos, wherefore, the crown was advised, no plate was to be expected from Honduras in 1603-4. After this exploit the French returned to La Española; the English hung off Cuba for a week, beating back and forth between San Anton and Matanzas, and, having got a caravel, went off. In March a year later, the governor of Florida reported32 an unidentified enemy as building a town at Ensenada de Carlos, "which is $27\frac{1}{2}$ " toward Cape Apalache, which is in more than 30° beside the Spiritu Santo river". Valdes sent out a very light frigate to investigate; it was gone fifty days, found nothing, and he concluded the rumor to be without foundation in fact. In Spain, before May 15. 1604, the crown and council were warned33 that "to the king of England the Hollanders have proposed the taking of the island of Cuba and Havana as a very feasible and easy thing; they want him to give them only three galleons with their men, victuals, and necessary munitions, (promising) that they will take along ten or twelve vessels for this purpose, and they will assist him to sustain (himself there), and they urge on him to establish himself in the very best part of Indies". Spain was moved to the defensive.

In Cuba, this defensive assumed three forms: armadas, a visiting judge, and a cedula of expulsion against the Portuguese. In none of them was that defensive effectively executed: the armadas were diverted to other service before they could render

³⁰ A. de I., 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 11, 1604.

³¹ A. de I., 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, June 6, 1603. ³² A. de I., 54-5-17, Valdes to Ybarra, Havana, Mar. 30; 1604; 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, May 14, 1604; Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 11, 1604.

³³ A. de I., 141-1-3, a warning seen in council, May 15, 1604.

any on the Cuban coasts, the judge's questionable industry ended in the humiliation of a general pardon, and those Portuguese it might have been wise to deport, defended themselves by law. That neither the English nor the rebel Netherlanders, or the French, for that matter, took Cuba in these days, would seem to have been due to reasons extraneous to that colony and its administration.

The chief interest of the representatives of the rebel states of Flanders who then roved the Caribbean, attached to the salt beds of Arave, and late in January of 1606 Captain General Luis de Fajardo, who was abroad with a squadron under orders to look to the situation around those salt beds, arrived at La Española.³⁴ whence he despatched Juan Alvarez de Aviles with an armada of six vessels to the south coast of Cuba to clear away the twenty-five enemy ships reported at that time to be off the port of Manzanilla.35 Destruction of the north coast towns of La Española was said to have driven pirates in great numbers to Cuba. Alvarez arrived off Santiago on January 25th, and made Cape Cruz on the 27th, where he was so delayed by contrary winds that he did not reach Manzanilla until February 2nd: only to find not a ship anchored there. Diligent inquiry ashore disclosed that about three days before thirty-one ships had left that port—twenty-four of them Flemish, one English, six French -of the latter half dozen, five being warships and one a trader.³⁶ Alvarez followed after these enemies and presently encountered

³⁴ La Española was distraught by the destruction of its north coast towns. The island was beset by pirates from the sea and overrun by slaves in revolt upon the land. It is said (A. de I., 147-5-16, Council for Indies to crown, Oct. 9, 1606) that Fajardo's arrival somewhat "assuaged" the "uprisings and inquietude" he found there. The crown was assured by the council for Indies that the situation in La Española was not really serious, but inasmuch as some of the settlers "had passed over to the enemy", this might encourage the enemy "to attempt something". Governor Valdes was ordered to send fifty men from Cuba to the support of Don Antonio Ossorio, president of the audiencia, governing there.

³⁵ The old spelling is Manzanilla, not Manzanillo.

³⁶ It was said that a Spaniard named Geronimo Torres warned the foreigners of the armada's approach, and that when later he failed to deliver hides, *i.e.*, got into debt, the pirate he had so favored threatened to deliver his letter to Spanish authority!

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one fleet of sixteen hulks—Flemish, French, and English—and. "in another part near them fourteen more, and he fought them all", evidently in the obsolescent good old Spanish style, for he says that he bade his ships ram, and it is recorded that his almiranta closed with the capitana of the enemy, both took fire. and sank together. At nightfall, Alvarez says,37 he lost the enemy: he hunted them in vain through that night and the next day. A pilot he had captured assured him that they had betaken themselves to the Isle of Pines, and for that Isle he bore away through waters he naively remarks the Spaniards did not know very well, so that he was dependent upon a Portuguese pilot named Antonio Hernandez whom he had picked up in Santo Domingo. Later, he accused this man of being himself a veteran dangerous pirate, and of intentionally grounding the Spanish vessels among the islets of the Gardens of the Queen, where, in consequence, Alvarez lost his capitana and the flyboat he had. He saved what he could out of the disaster (eight guns went down which were eventually recovered), and he arrived in Havana, whence, in August of 1606, he cleared for Spain convoying what shipping the season's hurricane had spared. He had accomplished nothing toward dispersal of pirates.

When reports reached Spain concerning his Portuguese pilot, however, who was blamed for the loss of the Spanish vessels among the Gardens of the Queen, it was decreed³⁸ that Governor Valdes be instructed to take action against him and others of his nationality, drastic enough to prevent their trading with the enemy. The crown was now assured³⁹ that it was the Portuguese who began this business of rescates, and still maintained it. Their legitimate trade in African slaves was said to cloak much besides.

Before the end of 1605, Don Pedro had received a cedula, dated May 11 of that year, forbidding foreigners to do business

³⁷ A. de I., 147-5-16, Alvarez to the crown, Havana, April 1, 1606.

³⁸ A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, Oct. 6, 1606; see the decree.

 $^{^{39}}$ A. de I., 54–2–7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, July 30, 1606; 143–4–20, Alvarez views before council, prior to Aug., 1606.

in the king of Spain's New World. Don Pedro replied⁴⁰ that he was uncertain whether Portuguese were foreigners or not, but, nevertheless, he reported upon them, and awaited further orders. No matter what may have been his views when he arrived in Cuba, on the desirability of expelling foreigners, his reports⁴¹ now seem to reflect a certain reluctance to deprive Havana of its Portuguese—of the baker, the shoemaker, the pilot, several wine merchants, street venders, farmers, and sugar planters—especially the sugarmaster Antonio Matos, native of Madeira, who had introduced the manufacture of sugar into the colony, where he had been a resident for twelve years.

Under date of January 24, 1608, a cedula was issued to Valdes's successor, Pereda, bidding him, upon arrival in Havana, "drive forth all the Portuguese there are in that city, married and single, of whatever condition, shipping them in the plate galleons, consigned to the House of Trade at Seville". This sweeping, plain order was weakened by an exception immediately stated: those Portuguese who had been married and avecindados in the city for ten years or more prior to its emission, were to be permitted to remain.

This cedula reflects the discussion which was animated in Spain through these years, as to conditions on which foreigners should be naturalized and so permitted to do business within the realm. Earlier cedulas were now (October 7, 1608) revoked, and another issued, declaring that to be considered naturalized in Indies a foreigner must have resided in Spain or the Indies through twenty consecutive years, and through ten of them have been a householder, with real property, and a wife who was either "a native or daughter of a foreigner but born in these said kingdoms". Foreigners who could answer to these requirements must prove as much, before local courts. Within thirty days after receipt of license to trade they must present an inventory of

⁴⁰ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Dec. 15, 1605.

⁴¹ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Aug. 12, 1607. ⁴² A. de I., 78-2-2, V. 5, p. 151, cedula real, January 24, 1608.

⁴³ A. de I., 141-1-6, council to the crown, Sept. 11, 1608; also cedula real, Oct. 8, 1608; 141-1-9, cedula real, Sept. 18, 1618.

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their property to the aforesaid court. They might do business on their own capital, only. No naturalization or license to trade which had been issued in Spain was extensive to Indies save upon the foregoing conditions. This cedula, of October 8, 1608, was called "the foreigners' cedula", and the merchants of Seville got it out of the crown, as further price of their continuance to pay general average, for the support of the armada de la averia. It was at the same time further ordered that no foreigner might do any business at all in Indies, or go there without special permit, nor might any Spaniard act as a foreigner's agent; neither might foreigners in Spain sell Spaniards goods on credit, payable in Indies: collection of such debts even before the plate of the fleets reached Spain was said to diminish the quantity of it received there.

Recital of these details shows the order to expel the Portuguese from Cuba in its true light: a measure taken for business reasons. On June 25, 1608, eleven days after his arrival in that island, Governor Pereda demanded bonds of them that they would leave the city with the next fleet. On the following September 22 he informed the crown⁴⁵ that some Portuguese had gone and more were going: soldiers whom Valdes had compelled to enlist in the garrison, workmen from farms and sugar plantations, and sailors. He had found merchants and traders harder to dislodge: some had indeed been residents in Havana for the requisite number of years, and others who had not been, had been able to prove themselves Castilians and Andalusians, despite the contrary evidence of their manner of speaking the language they claimed as mother tongue. Some had proven themselves natives of El Algarve and therefore as privileged as Castilians in the Indies of Castile. Lawyers, meantime, had twisted the exemption clause to suit clients' demands. Among false witnesses in favor of the Portuguese appeared persons of more than ordinary category. The governor admitted that they were equal to proving anything they desired to prove, in the local courts, and in the audiencia at

⁴⁴ By the same cedula of October 8, 1608.

⁴⁵ A. de I., 54-1-16, Pereda to the crown, Havana, Sept. 22, 1608.

Santo Domingo appellants against the *cedula* of expulsion found its atmosphere friendly to them.

At the same time in September of 1608 Governor Pereda said that not all the Portuguese in Havana had departed, but he thought that enough had gone for the time being. In reply, he was instructed46 to obey orders carefully; but if he thought the cedula of expulsion inconvenient he might so advise. In June of 1609 Pereda stated⁴⁷ that he saw no reason why any Portuguese should be left in Havana; he had observed that whenever a Hollander got into trouble a Portuguese appeared to go his bond, and he inferred that the expulsion of the Portuguese would lessen the danger "the rebels" constituted. By midsummer of 1610 Pereda had expelled⁴⁸ ninety-two foreigners (a few were of other nationalities than Portuguese), and even earlier he had forwarded cedulas to Governor Villaverde49 at Santiago ordering him to expel "all foreigners and Portuguese" from the center and east of the island. Apparently Governor Villaverde's compliance was limited to making a list of those liable to expulsion.

Despite all this, and strenuous cedulas intended to prevent the ingress of more foreigners, it would appear that they came to Cuba nevertheless: Germans, Flemings, French, Irish, and some who claimed not to know their origin. They came in vessels the House of Trade cleared. Governor Pereda said⁵⁰ that there was no deception about this—the foreigners' names and nationalities were frankly stated on the ships' papers, and the situation was the same throughout Indies: if he proceeded against them in Havana he would merely make that port unpopular. Foreigners worked on Juan de Borxa's armada de barlovento, building under government administration in Havana bay.

All in all, one gathers the unpleasant impression that Governor Pereda's shipments of Portuguese were made to appease the

 $^{^{46}}$ Decree on the aforecited document; and A. de I., 78–2–2, V. 6, p. 14, cedula real, April 14, 1609.

⁴⁷ A. de I., 54-1-16, Pereda to the crown, Havana, June 18, 1609.

⁴⁸ A. de I., 54-1-16, Pereda to the crown, Havana, Aug. 14, 1610.

⁴⁹ A. de I., 78-2-2, V. 6, p. 125, cedula real, October 1, 1611.

⁵⁰ A. de I., 54-1-16, Pereda to the crown, Havana, April 14, 1610.

powers, and consisted of humble persons unable to defend themselves. Some even of these who were deported never arrived in Seville, or so it would seem: they appear to have effected a landing on the Portuguese coast before the fleets made that port. Those in Cuba whose means and standing were sufficient to the emergency, doubtless found the *cedula* of expulsion annoying, and costly as defense at law always was, but when the dust cleared away they were still doing business at the old stands. The measure had failed of effect even as Alvarez's armada had failed.

When the crown ordered towns along the north coast of La Española depopulated, as a measure to prevent rescates there. their inhabitants were ordered to remove to specified new towns in that island; instead of obeying, many came to Cuba. The population of Santiago de Cuba increased. The influx was perhaps two or three hundred persons; they were made very welcome. On November 11, 1605, Licenciado Francisco Manso de Contreras, oidor of the audiencia at Santo Domingo, was commissioned⁵¹ by that court to go to Cuba to investigate into the presence there of these unauthorized emigrants from La Espa-Arrived in Havana, he gave it to be understood that he had come to investigate rescates in general, and Governor Valdes received him as competent for this larger task. If Don Pedro knew of limitations on the judge's commission he preferred to ignore them; he was said to have advertised that it was "infinite and unending". He wrote⁵² to his majesty that he was particularly pleased with Manso de Contreras's arrival, for he himself had earnestly desired to "remedy this excess" of rescates. Meanwhile, Manso de Contreras endeavoured to get an extension on the time of the commission he held from the audiencia, and, in making the same request of the crown,53 petitioned for recognition of his authority to proceed as he had proceeded, arguing that an oidor of the audiencia is by virtue of that office vested with authority to act as he may consider necessary for the good of the service, wherever he may be.

 $^{^{51}}$ A. de I., 78–2–2, V. 5, p. 47 r., cedula real to the audiencia at Santo Domingo, May 1, 1606.

⁶² A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Aug. 3, 1606.

⁵³ A. de I., 53-6-6, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, July 23, 1606.

Prior to his visit to Cuba, Manso de Contreras had dealt with rescates in La Española, where, he said, he had hung a few rescatadores: he was inclined to boast of the terror his name inspired. In Havana, he entered into action at once and in a very short time indeed reported54 that he had a hundred citizens under arrest, though they were not in confinement but allowed liberty under the best bonds he could secure. Although he purposed, he said, to punish these culprits severely—to make examples of them—he had proceeded gently, so gently that many persons presented themselves of their own accord to confess their guilt, and that of others as well. Meanwhile, Manso de Contreras was looking carefully to what he ate and drank: he gave the king to understand that he stood in hourly peril of death by poison or open violence. He soon found implicated in this business fully three hundred and sixty other persons, who resided in the interior of the island, and announced55 that he would visit the inland country in person, because he could not hope to deal with these cases through the local authorities. He hastened his work in Havana with departure in view and before the end of the year estimated 56 the total number of persons involved in rescates at five hundred, half of them at Puerto Principe and Bayamo.

He assured⁵⁷ the king that the colonists of the interior of Cuba were "the worst and most openly opposed to your majesty's service that ever there have been in these parts". He affirmed⁵⁸ "pro constanti that all of them, of all degrees, including friars and other clergy, are rescatadores and maintain particularly familiar relations with corsairs. They are the most disloyal and rebellious vassals that any king or prince in this world ever had, and if your highness were to appear among them, they would sell your Highness for three yards of Rouen silk or even for nothing, because there is nothing they detest more than the authority of the king and his ministers". Governor Valdes, in praising Manso

<sup>A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, July 27 (?), 1606.
A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, July 27, 1606;</sup>

and, id. to id., Havana, Oct. 5, 1606.

A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, Dec. 15, 1606.
 A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, July 27, 1606.

⁵⁸ A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, October 20, 1606.

de Contreras's "great prudence and gentleness", remarked⁵⁹ that, because of his long service in Indies, he was well acquainted with the character of the residents in those parts. Because it would not be safe for him to drop in on other places in the island as he had on Havana, Governor Valdes furnished the judge with an escort of forty soldiers, his son Fernando de Valdes among them, and at the commencement of November, 1605, Manso de Contreras set out for the interior. His chaplain reported⁶⁰ that the mere prospect of his visitation there trebled the price of Rouen silk at Puerto Principe.

Lack of space prevents a detailed account of the picturesque experiences which awaited Manso de Contreras "tierra adentro". Making use of a letter from Governor Valdes which certified to "the rectitude of his behavior" and that his methods were "different and gentler" than had been reported, at Puerto Principe he "played the part of the faithful thief, treating the people with affability and reassuring them, whereupon many came out of hiding"; when he presently moved eastward, he left behind a representative with orders "to arrest them all", when the time should be ripe. 61

Manso de Contreras's fame preceded him to Bayamo. There resided Juan de Treviño, who was Valdes's lieutenant for all the island. It is difficult to believe that this man was as black as he is painted in documents preserved at Seville. He at first at least pretended to be cooperating with the oidor, but when, from Puerto Principe, Manso de Contreras ordered the arrest of Treviño's "sergeant major and guard of the ports", who had hung certain Indians and Portuguese on Treviño's order, he seems to have arrived at the conviction that it was best policy "to flee the face of these gentlemen judges".

When Manso de Contreras arrived in Bayamo on December 22, he found the place deserted, by all save six or seven residents,

⁵⁹ A. de I., 54-2-7, Valdes to the crown, Havana, Aug. 7, 1606.

⁶⁰ A. de I., 54-2-7, Diego de Alvarado, Bayamo, Sept. 10, 1606.

⁶¹ A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Puerto Principe, December 8, 1606.

who, he said, 62 were the absent Treviño's confederates and had remained behind to prevent others from returning, presumably to save their own skins by furnishing evidence against the rest. Of the missing population a hundred, some said a hundred and sixty persons, with Treviño, had embarked in two frigates under pretense that they were an armadilla equipped against pirates under Manso de Contreras's own instructions to proceed against enemy traders. Some said that they had sailed for Santo Domingo, to lay their situation before the audiencia; others said that they had merely "gone elsewhere", until they could hear from an emissary previously despatched to that court.

It was said that Treviño enjoyed the friendship of the president of the audiencia. Even before he left Havana it had become evident that the wind from that quarter was adverse to Manso de Contreras, and when the audiencia sent for and removed from Santiago the two or three hundred emigrants from La Española whose case was certainly embraced in the oidor's commission, if in fact that commission covered any other matter, the people of Bayamo rang bells of rejoicing, he said, 63 "and shouted 'Liberty' through the streets", in glee over this indication that he had not that higher court's support. There can be no doubt that the colonists hoped for his discomfiture, and Manso de Contreras appealed almost desperately to the crown for support—for extension of time and for adequate authority.64 His worst fears were realized (before March, 1607). While he lay sick in bed, "hard-pressed by gout and not really convalescent from three serious illnesses", which all arose out of his "exhaustion from long journeyings through desolate places", there appeared before him a notary who served on him papers setting forth thirty-three charges entered against him with the audiencia of Santo Domingo.65 early June, 1607, he was again in Havana, having accomplished as little against rescates as Alvarez's armada and the cedula of expulsion against the Portuguese.

⁶² A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Bayamo, Dec. 27, 1606.

⁶³ A. de I., 54-2-7, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, October 20, 1606.
⁶⁴ I have for brevity's sake omitted all account of Valera Arceo's intervention

⁶⁴ I have for brevity's sake omitted all account of Valera Arceo's intervention at Bayamo.

 $^{^{55}}$ A. de I., 54-2-8, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Bayamo, March 10, 1607.

Now, at the commencement of October, 1605, just prior to Manso de Contreras's departure for the interior, he. 66 the town council, 67 and Governor Valdes, 68 in unanimous accord, had advised the crown to issue a general pardon, covering the whole matter of rescates. There was precedent: under date of August 3, 1603, a general pardon had been issued to those guilty of rescates in La Española. This turn of events is somewhat surprising. I have seen where Manso de Contreras mentions⁶⁹ three and a half or four thousand ducats spent "in negotiating the pardon", which money seems to have been raised by subscription. This does not necessarily imply that any influence was bought: it cost, in fees, salary, the chartering of despatch boats, and expenses of advocates at court, to obtain action on petitions, even in the most legitimate manner. Manso de Contreras had accused, and doubtless proven, the richest merchants in the colony involved in illegitimate business. The prior and consuls at Seville, even, protested 70 that, acting without proper authority, he had "inflicted very great vexations, laid embargoes, committed extortions", seized merchants' books and correspondence, etc. ruining not only Havana merchants but also their principals in Spain. There is every reason to suppose that these merchants stood ready to purchase immunity, and their principals in Spain to exert influence in the same general direction. Nevertheless, I would prefer to believe that deplorable events in La Española had much to do with convincing Valdes, Manso de Contreras. the Council for Indies, and the crown itself, that rigorous punishment would prove as disastrous in Cuba as it had there. In brief, it is quite possible that they foresaw rebellion, doubtless to be followed by foreign occupation, as a possible consequence of any success in meting out justice to the rescatadores of Cuba.

"If they were to be punished according to the gravity of the offense", wrote⁷¹ Governor Valdes, "the inland region would be

 $^{^{66}}$ A. de I., 54–1–16, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, October 6, 1606.

⁶⁷ A. de I., 54-1-16, Havana to the crown, October 5, 1606.

⁶⁸ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, October 5, 1606.

⁶⁹ A. de I., 54-2-8, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, Dec. 28, 1607.
70 A. de I., 143-5-1, prior and consuls to the crown, Sevilla, March 28, 1607;

^{148-1-9,} V. 7, p. 237, cedula real to prior and consuls, April 27, 1607.

71 A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdez to the crown, Havana, Oct. 5, 1606.

reduced to desolation: there would not remain there children nor slaves nor even women, for, on account of the example set by their husbands, it seems that they have not only traded, but have also committed other unlovely acts not fit to be described in writing". Guilt being so general, the governor continued, "the remedy is not to be found in punishment". If attempt was made to inflict it, the most guilty would escape from the island, root, stalk, and branch, carrying the fire into other regions, even less defensible than Cuba (such as Campeche and Honduras), where it would blaze even more violently; meanwhile, the slaves of the island, so abandoned, would rise, take possession of the cattle, domesticated and wild, and continue the usual traffic with pirates there. In truth, Valdes was but describing what had actually happened in La Española. Therefore, "on his knees", the governor asked pardon, "for this one time, on behalf of these miserable people, for, although they are evil, they are also, after all, vassals of your majesty, and if this portion of your majesty's inheritance is cultivated in a different manner than that employed heretofore . . . seasoned fruits of obedience", he declared, might be hoped. Don Pedro asked that his own "faithless ministers", who, sent into the interior to punish rescates had themselves become rescatadores, be excepted from the pardon. The city council's petition72 to the same general effect, gave identical reasons. A memorial was enclosed declaring that there were twenty thousand blacks in the colony, who might rebel: the pirates would supply arms. It was remarked that Havana was very vulnerable to attack by land, especially, the king must be aware, if it were at the same time attacked by sea, i.e., if blacks in rebellion and pirate enemies cooperated, which it had long been feared that they might-feared since the days of Pedro Menendez's voung manhood.73 Manso de Contreras declared 14 that, although the colonists of Cuba merited punishment even more than those of La Española, were it meted out to them the island would retain very scanty population, few would

⁷² A. de I., 54-1-16, Havana to the crown, October 5, 1606.

⁷³ A. de I., 53-6-5, V. I., two memoriales of Menendez, 1553.

⁷⁴ A. de I., 54-1-16, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, October 6, 1606.

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remain to till the soil or herd the cattle, or otherwise contribute to meet the demand of fleets and armadas calling at Havana, which would, therefore, suffer from the lack of the food supplies they were accustomed to take on there. He would have made more exceptions to the pardon than Valdes. These petitions for pardon were sent to Spain by special vessel.

They were quickly granted. It had been decided that, "the door having been closed" by the destruction of settlements in La Española and Venezuela, "benignity is now the most efficacious remedy". 5 Under date of December 22, 1606, the crown issued the cedula wanted: it recites simply that the colonists have traded with the enemy and now, in order that they may return to their homes and cultivate their estates, they are fully pardoned for this offense, committed up to the proclamation of such pardon. There were no exceptions. Thereafter, so to trade was a capital crime, entailing confiscation of goods. Residents of La Española, guilty of the offense of rescates, who had gone into Cuba, were similarly pardoned, provided they returned to that island within six months after proclamation of an accompanying cedula⁷⁷ to this effect.

Valdes had asked⁷⁸ that he and Manso de Contreras jointly be authorized to promulgate this pardon, but it was especially ordered that the judge, not the governor, publish these *cedulas*. This was unquestionably to demonstrate that Manso de Contreras had not been discountenanced, and, possibly, to aid him to collect from those he had found guilty, the salary and costs allowed him in his commission. The *cedulas* were formally received⁷⁹ on June 10, 1607, by the governor, the lieutenant governor, the royal officials, the town council and the *oidor*, and next day they were cried with all possible solemnity from the doors of the town hall and, again, in the public square near the jail. They were similarly published in other towns. The emissary who

⁷⁵ A. de I., 78-2-2, V. 5, p. 74, cedula real to the audiencia at Santo Domingo, December 22, 1606.

⁷⁶ A. de I., 54-2-8, cedula real, December 22, 1606.

⁷⁷ A. de I., 78-2-2, V. 5, pp. 81 r., 82 r., cedulas reales, Feb. 12, 1607.

 $^{^{78}}$ A. de I., 54–1–16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, October 5, 1606.

⁷⁹ A. de I., 54-2-8, evidence of receipt, Havana, June 10, 1607.

proclaimed them was also commissioned to collect Manso de Contreras's bills.

Governor Valdes thanked⁸⁰ the king for this pardon, in the name "of this miserable people". If they should forget "their obligation to perpetual improvement", he said, "if they should repeat" their offense, they would be duly punished as ordered in the *cedula* of pardon. Manso de Contreras was confident⁸¹ that they would not sin again: he had scared out of them all thought of dishonest trading!

His majesty was assured 82 that even by the spring of 1607 the "diabolical vice" his colonists had contracted of trading with affable enemies of the Catholic crown and of the Catholic faith, had been eradicated from the thousand and one ports of the island of Cuba. Witnesses bore evidence⁸³ to the fact that pirate ships standing off the coasts, in vain fired their cannon to attract customers: no buyers responded. The very roads by which hides formerly went to the sea by long pack trains, grew over with weeds. 'Twas true, that danger of revival of the evil lurked in the unregenerate clergy. The bishop's provisor Puebla was seized by the inquisition and carried off to Mexico to answer for complicity in rescates. Cabezas protested and, hurrying home from Jamaica to rescue Puebla, the good bishop thanked God that Cuba's coasts were clean. Not a pirate remained, he knew,84 for he met none: and had there been one left, he, with his usual luck, would certainly have encountered him.

If these assertions deceived his majesty, subsequent events dissipated the deception. Rescates had not been eradicated; the composition and character of the colonial population had not altered; the opportunities offered foreign traders had not diminished; their activity in making the most of them had not abated; neither, despite many wise recommendations of it, had there been any relaxation of the restrictions which discouraged legitimate trade.

⁸⁰ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 13, 1607.

⁸¹ A. de I., 54-2-8, Manso de Contreras to the crown, Havana, June 15, 1607.

⁸² A. de I., 54-2-8, informacion, Bayamo, Mar. 4, 1607.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁴ A. de I., 54-2-8, Cabezas to the crown, Aug. 23, 1608.

As a further measure against rescates—after the humiliation of Juan Alvarez's armada, after Manso de Contreras's visitation, after the pretense of expelling the Portuguese—his majesty effected "the division of the government" of Cuba. The center and east of the island were placed under the jurisdiction of a governor, to reside at Santiago de Cuba and, late in 1608 or early in 1609, the first incumbent, Juan Villaverde Ureta, set out from Havana for his district, in not unwarranted fear of his life, despite his comparatively heavy escort.⁸⁵

I. A. WRIGHT.

⁸⁵ Wright, I. A., Santiago de Cuba and its District (Madrid, 1918).

ALBERDI'S VIEWS ON THE MONROE DOCTRINE*

If we accept the analysis of Pan Americanism made by Professor Ernesto Quesada or by Helio Lobo, as both explain its evolution in recent articles, that subject has had three general periods in its development. The first, covering roughly two-thirds of the nineteenth century, is that of Pan Spanish Americanism, in which the American states of Spanish origin on the ground that they form one country, one race, and one culture were to be organized into an international league of defense, involving political and economic coöperation. This movement developed into Pan Latin-Americanism by the inclusion of Brazil, which country, it is explained, by the supposed abandonment of imperial ambitions, by its abolition of slavery, and by its change to a republican form of government made possible this rapprochement. This period, short-lived in matter of time, gave way to what Quesada calls a "transcendental evolution"—Pan Americanism.²

As a staunch advocate of the first of these movements; as an important contributor to Hispanic American political theory compared in this respect by García Mérou to Alexander Hamilton; as an influential commentator on inter-America diplomacy—placed by some in the rank of Bilbao, Vigil, Carrasco, Albano, Calvo, and Drago; and as publicist and statesman, Juan Bautista Alberdi deserves and has received extended notice from stu-

^{*} Read at the Conference on Hispanic American History at Cleveland, O., on December 30, 1919, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

¹ Ernesto Quesada, La Evolución del Panamericanismo, (Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, XLI. and XLII. 1919, pp. 289–352. Professor Quesada (p. 351) makes the interesting statement that he is the first professor of Pan Americanism to be appointed in any university of the continent. Cf. Helio Lobo, De Monroe à Rio-Banco.

² Quesada, op. cit., 291. "Pero en el último tercio del siglo anterior se produce una nueva y transcendental evolución; el panamericanismo continental se substituye al panlatinoamericanismo, introduciendo el elemento estaduniense en la agrupación anterior; esta vez, tal inclusión constituia una verdadera revolución,
. . . ".

dents of American relations and history. His published works, of which some parts were written more than a half century ago, have a significance which statesmen as well as students must take seriously into consideration. With respect to the contemporary value and influence of Alberdi's *Memoria sobre la conveniencia y objectos de un congreso general americano*, written in 1844, Professor G. Nicolás Matienzo says, "Gran parte de ella parece escrita en el presente año de 1910, tal es la frescura de sus observaciones y sus juicios". And Dr. Santiago Baqué, writing of Alberdi's economic and sociological theories and policies, remarks: "Hay que reconocer no obstante que Alberdi ha triunfado".

It is, of course, outside the severely limited scope of this paper to discuss or even comment upon the details of Alberdi's life. It must suffice us to say that this famous writer led a life between the years 1810 and 1884 of versatile and sustained activity. The story of Alberdi as a journalist, a poet, and a musician; that of him as a voluntary exile from his native country during the era of Rosas; that of his membership in the famous Asociación de Mayo and his participation in its work; that of him as a successful lawyer in Chile; of his effective propaganda to relieve his country of the tyrant; of his part in the movement of Urquiza; of Alberdi the pamphleteer, the bitter, sarcastic controversialist who engaged in many acrimonious polemics, notably with Sarmiento and Mitre; that of his peculiar attitude and activity during the war with Paraguay; and finally the story of him as a diplomat in Europe, as a pacifist who wrote about war as a crime—all this must be left to his biographers, García Mérou, Pelliza, Santiago Baqué, Matienzo, Bilbao and Reynal O'Connor, and Olleros.4

² Matienzo, "La Politica Americana de Alberdi", Revista Argentina de Ciencas Políticas, 1910).

⁴ For biographical matter see M. García Mérou, Juan Bautista Alberdi (Ensayo crítico) 1890; José J. Biedma and J. A. Pillado, Alberdi, 1897; Manuel Bilbao and A. Reynal O'Connor, Apuntes biográficos del Doctor Don Juan Bautista Alberdi (Tomo 1, of Obras Completas of Alberdi), 1886; Mariano A. Pelliza, Alberdi, su Vida y sus Escritos (1874); T. Mannequin, J. B. Alberdi (Journal des Économistes, III. 1884); for the Paraguay episode see Mariano L. Olleros, Alberdi, a la Luz de sus Escritos en cuanto se refieren al Paraguay, 1905; for Alberdi's

These may and do differ in some rather important matters of detail, but they are in agreement in making Alberdi a remarkable man. He is described by García Calderón as a conservative philosopher, an admirer of Guizot, a lover of order, a defender of Protestantism in a Catholic land, a believer in education of a practical and technical kind—a man, in fine, of gravity, common sense, and realism.5 Baqué emphasizes the talents, the bent of mind, and defects of Alberdi as a lawyer; García Mérou dwells upon his abilities as an economist.6 Matienzo, who said that Alberdi in his last years shared with Sarmiento the national admiration of Argentina, summed up his estimate by saying: "A long time will pass, many generations will pass, before the South Americans are able to speak of railroads, ports, canals, commerce, industry, population, immigration, education and teaching, wealth and national taxation, American politics, and peace and international justice without there coming to their memory a thought of Alberdi." Few questions of interest to American civilization escaped the notice of Alberdi. He was not only a writer on many subjects, but—although there were distinct evidences of the influence of Montesquieu, Locke, Jeremy Bentham, Adam Smith, Lerminier, Jouffroy and Rossi-he was in general an original and independent thinker. As a positive man, with a courage of conviction, he became involved in many controversies, having to answer the replies his articles and books evoked. And, being so often ahead of his generation, he frequently came to moderate the views to which his ardor and originality—or his haste in

influence, see García Mérou (op. cit.); Santiago Baqué, Influencia de Alberdi en la Organización del Estado Argentino, 1915; José Nicolás Matienzo, El Gobierno Representativo Federal en la República Argentina, 1910; Matienza, Introduction, El Crimen de la Guerra; C. Martos, Judicio sobre las Obras de Alberdi, 1857; P. Groussac, El Desarrollo Constitucional y las "Bases" de Alberdi (Anales de la Biblioteca, III.) 1902; for Alberdi's works see Obras Completas (edited by M. Bilbao and A. Reynal O'Connor) 8 vols. 1886–87; Escritos Póstumos (edited by Francisco Cruz) 16 vols., 1895–1900.

⁵ F. García-Calderón, Latin America, its Rise and Progress, pp. 236, 246-47.

⁶ Baqué, Influencia de Alberdi, p. 26, "Alberdi era abogado nato." Cf. P. Groussac, Juan Bautista Alberdi (La Biblioteca. III. 482). Garcìa Mérou, op. cit., chap. on the "Sistema económico y rentístico." Baqué doubts that Alberdi's reading was very wide, but states that his powers of observation were acute.

forming opinions—had committed him. Baqué and Groussac allude to certain contradictions in Alberdi's works, some of which may be explained, according to García Mérou, by the softening influences of time and reflection upon views previously formed.⁷

He is especially remembered as an advocate of constitutional monarchy of the type as he thought best developed in Great Britain.8 This form of government, which to him was far from being incompatible with liberty and democracy, would bring about with the help of Europe order and stability and, together with the changes in public policy which its adoption would imply, would save the South American countries.9 In his examination of the forms of government, he sought that which was to him the most capable of giving order, liberty, and progress; and he concluded that monarchy would best serve this purpose. He endeavored with great ingenuity of reasoning to show that monarchy was reconcilable with the revolution; that such a form of government was the real desire of such men as San Martín, Bolívar, Sucre, Alvear, Rivadavia, Belgrano, Posadas, and others. That he was not wedded to the monarchical form of government, however, was demonstrated in his thesis on republics, in which he held that the republican form was the ideal—a form of government which at some future time South America might be ready

⁷ Baqué, pp. 26-27; Groussac, El desarrollo constitucional y las "Bases" de Alberdi, op. cit. (cf. the fourth monograph in Groussac's Estudios de Historia Argentina); García Mérou says of his style: ". . . qué tesoro de observación v de doctrina nos deja por legado! Es precisamente en nuestros dias cuando puede apreciarse en toda su poderosa frondosidad su obra de patriota y estadista. Con la clarovidencia del genio él se ha adelantado á los tiempos, y ha puesto sobre el tapete todas las cuestiones que más tarde han sido afrontadas y resueltas dando la razón al pensador que habia previsto de antemano. Jurisconsulto de vistas propias y fundamentales, político penetrante, constitucionalista profundo, escritor refinado y sentencioso, periodista contundente, satírico punzante y mordaz, son innumerables las facetas de su espiritu onduloso. Es al mismo tiempo poeta y sabio, crítico y creador. Posee la ciencia admirable del estilo, y su frase transparente, sin grandes fulguraciones oratorias, causó mayores estragos que el golpe de maza del declamador. Al leerlo, se recorren todas las notas de la expresión y se recuerda instintivamente á Montesquieu y Swift, á Voltaire v Heine.

⁸ Alberdi, Escritos Póstumos, (IV. Del Gobierno en Sud-América, 1896).

⁹ Ibid., Chaps. VI. and VII.

for, but of the republic as then constituted, he wrote that it "has been and is still the bread of presidents, the trade of soldiers, the industry of lawyers without causes, and journalists without talent; the refuge of the second rate of every species, and the machine for the amalgamation of all the dross of society". Later he remarks:

We do not dissent from the republic in itself, in the abstract and ideal, but from the republic deformed and monstrous, which we see in practice; from the republic with tyranny and misery, with disorders, with revolutions; we dissent in a word from the governments of Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, New Granada, La Plata, which only by sarcasm can be called republics.¹¹

These republics, he said, were in reality disguised monarchies still suffering from a type of medieval feudalism, without the advantages of order; they were nominal republics without effective guarantees of liberty. Later he modified his ideas of republics—presumably on account of the experience of Mexico under Maximilian.¹² In practice he had supported them loyally, had come to the conclusion that they could not be abolished, and proposed ways by which they might be strengthened by centralization of power as in Chile.¹³ Indeed, he devoted a considerable part of his life to a discussion of the ways and means of organizing, perfecting, and reforming republican institutions. It was about the constitutional organization of Argentina that he wrote in 1852 the work of fundamental importance: Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina. García Mérou, after stating that this book won international recogni-

¹⁰ Quoted García Calderón, op. cit., p. 247.

¹¹ Cuando disentimos de la república, no disentimos de la república en sí, de la república abstracta, del ideal de la república; sino de la república deforme y monstruosa, que vemos en práctica; de la república con tirania; con miseria, con desórdenes, con atentados; disentimos, en una palabra, del gobierno que vemos en Bolivia, en el Peru, en Venezuela, en Nueva Granada, en el Plata, etc., que solo por sarcasmo puede apellidarse republicano. (Del Gobierno en Sud América, p. 197.)

¹³ Ibid., p. 653.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 573 et seq.

tion, compared it as a work in jurisprudence to that of Blackstone and Kent. As to the exact amount or degree of influence that this book had on the constitutional organization of Argentina is a matter of dispute among historians and politicians, but the excellent work of Dr. Santiago Baqué would lead us to think that it was definitive. In it, Alberdi, under the guidance of Montesquieu offers an exposition of the federal form that was fitted for Argentina, though he admired the unitary type. He is often described as a conservative—and such he was when it came to "law and order"—but in his work he offered also many radically progressive measures as necessary to the progress of the new Argentina. Forms of government, and the political life which he thought incident to them—it must ever be kept in mind—had a very definite relation, as he saw it, to the Monroe Doctrine and American diplomacy.

To him the South American revolution was a complex movement of civilization caused in the main by European inspiration, especially that of France and Great Britain. From Europe came the ideas and revolutionary propaganda, the men trained in liberalism, and, finally, money, munitions, and armed troops. It is well known that Alberdi, in his interpretation of the Hispanic American revolution, thought of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain and the subsequent conduct of the French government respecting Ferdinand VII., together with the legal complications following these actions, as immediate—not as ultimate and fundamental—causes of that revolution. Concerning this set of circumstances, he developed his doctrine of "trivial causes".15 This revolution was to him, on the contrary, inevitable because Spain had prevented free intercourse between the colonies and the rest of the world—had blocked there the progress of civilization. The revolution was an expression of the essential unity of the world, as opposed to the thought of the existence of a distinct system in this hemisphere,—as was said in the message of Monroe. To him, further, the European character of the Hispanic Ameri-

¹⁴ García Mérou, op. cit., p. 182. The Bases has gone through ten editions, the eleventh being, according to Baqué, in preparation.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

cans in race, culture, and aspiration was a self-evident fact—a fact, and this was equally evident, which made cordial interrelation natural. America was simply "Europe established in America". 16 To this fact was linked the sentiment of gratitude. European intervention had not only given South America its immediate cause of revolution and had afforded it the substantial means of successfully conducting its wars of independence, but had enabled the United States to win its independence.17 In the South American revolution the part of the United States, on the contrary, had been negligible, after giving the example of rebellion. Officially the United States had been neutral, and Alberdi made a good deal out of an alleged prohibition, in 1817, of the construction of ships to aid the patriots of South America. The policy of the United States had been that of non-intervention. especially, he said, when this country was fearful of antagonizing Spain during the negotiations for the purchase of Florida. Even when it came to the stirring times of 1820-1823, the policy of the Washington government was hesitant and in the main consistent with non-intervention. Alberdi attributes reluctance to Monroe when the occasion of the threat of certain European powers against Hispanic American independence seemed certain to result in action.¹⁸ The credit for the origination of the Monroe Doctrine goes entirely to Canning and Great Britain, for Alberdi does not attempt to go back of the English proposal to the United States for a joint declaration of policy for any American evolution of the doctrine. "Origen europeo de la doctrina de Monröe" is a phrase or a thought that was constantly with him in his treatment of American diplomacy. There is nothing to show, so far as the writer knows, that Alberdi objected to the Monroe Doctrine in its pristine significance; but, on the contrary. much to indicate that he approved of it tacitly as a matter of course—as being of European origin. He minimizes the effect

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 151; cf. Del Gobierno en Sud América, pp. 485-506; cf. Accion de la Europa en América.

¹⁷ Del Gobierno en Sud América, pp. 48-123; cf. Acción de Europa en América.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 601 *et seq.* ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 620, 622, 657.

of Monroe's message, regarding the English attitude and policy, as manifested at the Congresses of Laybach and Verona and in the correspondence with France as carried on between Canning and Prince Polignac, as being after all the decisive factor in preventing action by members of the Holy Alliance.

The influence of the United States, however, was more powerful when it came to the governments formed late in the revolution and immediately afterward in the nationalistic period. This influence was due to the forces of federalism and the Monroe Doctrine. The United States was the great model in government. which was imitated by many states of Hispanic America, but imitated, said Alberdi, in an inverse order.20 The States of South America, as he explained it, had been as colonies unitary, consolidated parts of an empire, with provinces having only an administrative autonomy. In order to be like the United States, these countries, as independent states, had set industriously about making these provinces into sovereign states; and, while the United States soon became in fact, if not in theory of the law, a centralized republic, its South American imitators continued with some exceptions as federations which in some cases leaned toward confederations.²¹ He claimed this sort of imitation to have been, to quote some of his terms, "puerile", "frivolous", "nominal", and "disastrous", by which the nation had been unmade, and by which the national government was reduced to a name an unhappy fact which made possible the disorders which were the source of weakness of those countries.²² This influence, therefore, contributed to the anarchy of the first half of the century the implication being that in so far the United States was negatively responsible. Where direct responsibility came in was in connection with the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine, properly and literally interpreted was, he said, directed to prevent intervention which had objects of oppression or of controlling in some way the destinies of Hispanic American peoples, but intervention

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 439-453.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 437-440.

²² Ibid., pp. 442-445.

conducted by some one of the despotic governments of Europe.23 It did not properly apply to free Europe, at that time to England, or later to France. Subsequently, he held, the Monroe Doctrine came to oppose indiscriminately all political intervention by Europe, although such intervention might not have the motive of colonization nor that of destroying the independence of the Hispanic American countries; but, on the contrary, it might have given them freedom and orderly self-government, and have ended the anarchy to which otherwise those countries were left.24 The Monroe Doctrine has thus been converted into a species of colonial system. In final analysis it becomes intervention against intervention.25 "Despues que los Estados Unidos debieren todo á Europa, quieren aislar la América de Europa, por todo otro punto que no sea los Estados Unidos, convertidos en aduana única de la civilización de origen tras-atlantico,-Monröe queria hacer de su país el Porto-Bello de la libertad Americana".26 The Monroe Doctrine, he said, is the offspring of egoism. Pursuing in the main itself a policy of non-intervention the United States has through the Monroe Doctrine, deprived South America of a source of legitimate aid by which it could have secured its political regeneration as, for instance, in overthrowing the Rosas rule in Argentina. In his Acción de la Europa en América, he defended the Anglo-French intervention in La Plata, and foreign aid was invoked in his Los Americanos ligados al estranjero. Alberdi would have opposed as vehemently as any the intervention which had for its purpose the destruction of independence or that of expansion by conquest, but he did not ascribe such purposes to all intervention. An intervention by a free country, even of a military nature, which had for its purpose the establishment of freedom and good government—that is, European civilization was a thing to be desired. These ideas brought the charge of treason to American freedom and independence, against which he vigorously defended himself.²⁷ He had little fear and no ex-

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 468-480.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 619.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 619.

²⁷ Particularly from the Rosas party.

pectation of European aggression, for he sharply distinguished free Europe from despotic Europe having fear only of the latter. The idea of European conquest he dismissed with serene confidence as an idle dream. He thus frankly and confidently denied what to many of us requires no stretch of the imagination clearly to recognize: namely, "that without the great principle of isolation. Central and South America would be a field of great colonial rivalry".28 The constructive political intervention, the Monroe Doctrine prevented and thereby converted the South American countries into indirect colonies of the United States.²⁹ "Aislarse de la Europa civilizada es recolonizarse". The prohibition was especially absurd since the United States had been the only country of the western hemisphere which has had a European king for its ally. The doctrine thus prevented them from doing a thing—that is, forming helpful political alliances which the United States had done and could do again. Not only does the Monroe Doctrine act as a deterrent to reform effected in this way, by excluding liberal European aid, but it is no real guarantee of independence nor preventive of conquest. It leaves the United States and Brazil free to do what Europeans may not do. Mexico was eloquent testimony to Alberdi, as to others, that the United States might enter upon careers of conquest at the expense of Hispanic American countries. He was very positive as to the imperial ambitions of the United States and Brazil, and went so far as to assert that the United States was well content that the South American states should remain weak.30 He was, on the contrary, not afraid of liberal Europe. Had not England really stopped the Holy Alliance? And Eng-

²⁸ Herbert Kraus, What European Countries think of the Monroe Doctrine, 107 (Annals of the Amer. Academy of Pol. and Soc. Sci., LIV. July 1914).

²⁹ Del Gobierno en Sud América, p. 141 et seq.

³⁰ Oneto y Viana, La Diplomacia de la Bresil: "Alberdi conceived against Brazil one of those imaginary animosities and carried on a campaign to discredit Brazil." This animosity, if such it was, caused Alberdi frankly to state his fears of Brazilian ambitions. In marked contrast to the blunt frankness of Alberdi, one may think of the subtle Rio Branco who announced his fears of Argentine intentions respecting Uruguay and Paraguay. Del Gobierno en Sud América, p. 628 et seq.

land, it was intimated, would on occasion do so again. He thought liberal Europe the best guarantee against the United States and Brazil.

Aside from being geographically located in the same hemisphere and being a lover of liberty, he argued further, there was no reason why the United States should have this protectorate over South America. On the other hand, there were very real reasons why liberal Europe should be the active friend and protector. Hispanic American countries were more intimate with Europe than with each other.31 Only Europe gives them immigrants with which to recruit their populations, capital and machinery for the development of their resources, manufactured commodities for their consumption, railroads for their transportation, boats for their commerce. In turn Europe opens for them a ready market for their raw materials and foodstuffs, there thus being a natural exchange. The importance of these considerations in his system will be made clear, perhaps, by brief reference to his theories respecting domestic policy. Alberdi had a materialistic conception of civilization, in that, to him, industrial progress, the accumulation of wealth by legitimate production, the development of commerce and a mercantile marine service, the building of railroads—in fine, the introduction of industrial revolution—were essentials. In securing the sort of civilization he desired, great emphasis was placed on immigration. Depopulation, on the one hand, and backwardness, poverty, and misery. on the other, were placed in his thought virtually as cause and effect. He thought that foreigners, especially those from England, would bring in not only new and improved industries and capital, but "habits of order and customs of education". His ideas may be summed up in his famous maxim: "En América. gobernor es poblar".32 Each of the countries needs the industrial and commercial advantages mentioned above; and no one country of this hemisphere is able to give them to the rest.

³¹ Del Gobierno de la Sud América, p. 587. He comments on the fact that in his time South American newspapers were devoted so largely to European affairs, those of local countries being secondary.

³² García Mérou, op. cit., p. 222 et seq.

the United States, a receiver of European immigrants, an exporter of raw materials and foodstuffs, without an adequate merchant marine service for its own use—is in no position to give them. Thus economic ties make South America the natural ally of Europe. Racial kinship, cultural affinity and community, and economic consolidation and exchange form the grounds for Alberdi's interpretation of the proper basis of international relations of South America.

To obtain what he thought desirable ends, he proposed as early as 1844 the formation of a Hispanic American league to insure continental equilibrium. This league was to be supported by an agreement with certain European powers-without which Alberdi thought it would be sterile—involving no sacrifice of independence, but a guarantee of it. He proposed for his league a congress which should arrange for the joint control or jurisdiction over boundary line disputes and international rivers. Its other projected duties and powers related to: arbitration of disputes; codification of international law; control of river commerce; construction of international telegraph lines, railroads, and highways; establishment of uniform postal, customs, and extradition laws, uniform monetary, weights and measures standards; the limitation of armaments; etc. In this fashion he anticipated the subject matter of later Pan American conferences, though, so far as the writer knows, his name was not even mentioned at the Washington Congress. He looked in no vague way toward a league of nations (Estados Unidos del Mundo) to an international government, for the guarantee of political independence, territorial integrity, and good government.

Alberdi regarded as frivolous the proposition of including the United States in such Hispanic American league—saying on the occasion of being made a doctor by the University of Chile, that the United States had "on more than one occasion laughed at their simple kinsmen of the South; certainly they have not refused us toasts and compliments, but I do not remember that they have ever fired a shot in our defense". He further remarked that "Tomar á los Estados Unidos, en lugar de la Europa, como fuente de civilización, es recibir la civilización europea de segunda

mano. Es el Monopolio norte-americano sustituido al español". He was notwithstanding this attitude no enemy of the United States. He even proposed some twelve ways in which the Hispanic Americans could profitably imitate the United States. He said that "The type of hero in the future is not Napoleon, but Washington". The United States, to him, simply did not fulfill the necessary conditions in cultural attainments, international understanding and sympathy, nor finally in the gratification of South America's economic and sociological requirements. It is to be inferred, however, that before he would be ready to give the United States the position he so readily gave to liberal Europe in his scheme, it would have to meet the following conditions:

It would have to make positive guarantees that it would attempt no further expansion by conquest at the expense of an Hispanic American country.

It would have to establish a commerce, by supplying them with capital, industries, machinery, merchant marine, and opening a market for South American products.

It must develop an appreciative reciprocity in culture.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.

BOOK REVIEWS

The War with Mexico. By Justin H. Smith. (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1919. 2 vols. \$10.00 net.)

In the words of the publisher's announcement, the story of our war with Mexico is here told for the first time. Professor Smith has spent more than ten years in collecting and digesting the sources from which he has selected his materials. His "intention was to obtain substantially all the valuable information regarding [the war] that is in existence, and no effort was spared to reach his end." (Preface, pp. vii, viii.) The archives of six nations, of many Mexican and American states, numerous public libraries and private collections, were sifted. Over 100,000 manuscripts, 1200 books and pamphlets, and 200 periodicals, were examined, and useful material was gathered by correspondence and conversation with veterans of the war, and with Mexicans and foreigners during a year's residence in the neighboring country. Probably nine tenths of the material used is new.

The diplomatic and military archives of the belligerent nations, hitherto unsearched for this topic, and even the published documents, through careful comparison with their originals, yielded important modifications to our previously available fund of information. It is now shown that contemporary official reports were faulty through omissions or were tinged with statements or inferences due to ulterior motives. Thus the author feels that in his presentation "approximate verity has been reached". (Preface, p. ix.)

Chronologically, the treatment involves practically the first half of the nineteenth century. The first one hundred pages or so of the first volume are devoted to the preliminaries of the conflict by a portrayal of the Mexicans, their social and political education as colonials and after Independence, and the relations of Mexico and the United States to the eve of the outbreak of hostilities.

At this point the method is intensified by comparative studies of the American and Mexican attitudes toward the inevitable struggle. The reader is then carried through the war's activities, political, diplomatic, military, and naval. In the conclusion the work takes a resumptive character, treating what seem residual but are nevertheless essential phases, such as the character of the Americans as conquerors, the problems of the treaty of peace, finances of the war, the effect of American politics on its prosecution, and foreign relations. Few works have come in recent years from the pen of an American historian which have shown more nearly perfect deftness in arranging and portraying, and, for the most part, in interpreting the men, motives, and events of the epoch concerned.

While the methods of assembling materials is "scientific", the treatment is nationalistic and literary, the work being a happy combination such as William E. Foster finds to be the tertium quid whereby the skilful writer may avoid both Scylla and Charybdis in his effort to hold at once the confidence of the student and the interest of the general reader. The scenes, the men, and events of the war are presented with vividness of color, of personality, and of movement. Certain passages, as the following, are even dramatic in quality:

Mexico, however, reported a British Minister, judged merely by outward appearances, is a perfectly different thing from Mexico seen in the Interior. One might be presented with a dozen houses and all their contents, yet go to bed on the sidewalk hungry. These friends and comrades are daily intriguing and conspiring against one another. Talk with an eloquent declaimer, and you will find his beautiful ideas vague and impractical. Discuss with him, and you will either excite wrath by demolishing his opinions or earn contempt-since he suspects in his heart that he is an ignoramus—by letting him vanquish you. Notice how lightly they speak of religion. That is considered good form. The Church is to be regarded as an institution for the women. But at the bottom almost everyone is mortally afraid of the hereafter, as a child is afraid of the dark, and when seriously ill is ready to grovel before a priest. The apparent robustness of these men, due largely to their indolence, is too often undermined by Cyprian accidents, which are confessed without hesitation. Hardly one of the husbands is loyal to his vows, while the other sex care only to elude numberless watchful eyes, and observe a strict regard for appearances; and in the lower walks a mother will quite readily sell her daughter's good name. However, courtesy is delightful whatever lies behind it, and if a person will try to eat a picture of grapes, he should blame himself for his disappointment. Temperament, environment, and education make sangfroid and intellectual mastery impossible here; and in a world where passionate men and women grow up in traditions of idleness and self-indulgence they can hardly be expected, especially with the bad example of their priests before them, to be distinguished for selfrestraint.

Some occupy themselves with . . . business, politics, or social events—and a few talk of science and poetry. Yonder goes a millionaire . . . at sight of whom all hats come off . . . but another . . . appears to the crowd a greater man, for he is . . . the matador. But most, perhaps, are

thinking and talking of love and pleasure. . . . Now and then one sees a pretty woman on the arm of her bold lover, showing herself proudly to the world, while the husband follows on behind as best he can; and here and there a scowling, discarded friend looks out from behind a post with a knife clutched behind him.

Would you see a little more? Then visit the barrio Santa Anna, and watch men with bloodshot eyes and women in red petticoats and loose, open chemisettes dancing a fandango, or plung into a lépero's dive and watch the pariahs gambling sedately with a bloody knife on the table before them, while down in one corner a crouching woman moans and mutters over a prostrate figure. But how lightly all is done, even the tragedies, compared with northern depth and seriousness. In a sense we feel we are observing children. (I. 27-28.)

This passage is the culmination of a portrayal of Mexico intended to show that

little in the material, mental, and moral spheres was really sound in the Mexico of 1845. . . . Evidently her people had few qualifications for self-government. Evidently, too, they were unlikely to handle in the best manner a grave and complicated question requiring all possible sanity of judgment and perfect self-control; and, in particular, misunderstandings between them and a nation like the United States were not only sure to arise but sure to prove troublesome. (I. 28).

The deduction is true, but the illustration is a trifle highly colored, what Blasco Ibañez would call "geografía pintoresca"; for, whatever the ineptitude of Mexico for self-government or repulsion of foreign aggression, recourse need hardly be had to pictures of the gutter and the brothel to prove the point.

This style of treatment seems, as one begins the book, to be directed solely against the Mexicans, whether people, government, army, or presidents. But as one proceeds the impression of bias is rectified by the baldness with which American short-comings are described. For instance, this is hardly blind patriotism:

When in camp below New Orleans the troops were guilty of some "sky-larking"—that is to say, plundering; and when they entered the enemy's country they became, said a regular officer, "the living embodiment of a moral pestilence. Crime followed in their footsteps, and wherever they trod, they left indelible traces of infamy." To meet their wishes, disorderly establishments of every kind sprang up, and the streets were constantly filled with drunken, brawling, insolent officers and men carrying arms. One of them drew a pistol on the British consul because his cane was black; many depredations were committed; and before the tenth of July at least five or six harmless persons were shot down for amusement. . . . (II. 211).

The blackest shadow in the picture, however, was New Mexico. Armijo had compensated the people for his tyranny and robbery by permitting them every

sort of license in their social relations. Virtue was little known and less valued. Even women fought duels with dirks or butcher-knives. Dances, at which all classes mingled in the revelry, were the chief amusements; the church bells announced them; and at the mass one heard the same music, played by the same musicians. Gambling and cock-fighting stood next in esteem, perhaps; and then came other vices that seemed more precisely necessities than ornaments of existence. . . . (II. 216).

The soldiers were not willing to do what little work there was, and they scorned regulations. "The dirtiest, rowdiest crew I have ever seen collected together," was a responsible British traveler's description of the American forces; and a soldier wrote in his diary, "A more drunken and depraved set, I am sure, can never be found." To be liked, an officer had to be lax, and to be unpopular was liable to mean—as good officers learned, a pistol or a sabre in one's face. Half the captains, a letter said, could be found every night in bad places.

. . . Gross outrages appear to have been few. But the drunken, brawling, overbearing volunteers despised the men about them and showed it; and the latter, flouted at every turn, and in particular robbed of their women, scowled and brooded with all the ferocity of an indolent but passionate, jealous race, and plied the knife when they dared. (II. 216-217).

The characterizations of the actors in the play are at times sharp, but always interesting. Canalizo was "a faithful dog that had been kicked one time too many" (II. 68); Ciriaco Vázquez was a brave man—he died at his post when so many lived to fight another day; Anaya had a "rather sour and curdled face"; Valencia was "a conspirator, a drunkard, a dolt, and a volcano" (II. 88). Gorostiza, the boundary negotiator, was "a witty, agreeable man of the world, but not a topographer, a lawyer, or even a diplomat" (II. 62, 64). President Herrera, "was an honest, reasonable, and patriotic citizen", but even he, fallen, "left the palace with the entire body of his loyal officers and officials, his mild face and his respectable side-whiskers—in one hired cab" (II. 99).

If the Mexican reader be little inclined to relish these thrusts, he may console himself with the treatment of some of the Americans. Anthony Butler was "a national disgrace, a bully and swashbuckler", and a "cantankerous incompetent rascal" (II. 62). Twiggs was endowed with brains that were "merely what happened to be left over from the making of his spinal cord" (II. 48); Pillow, after his fiasco at Cerro Gordo, "shot all to pieces, as he said, by a cannister bullet, retired at a run" (II. 57). Cadwalader, a "polished veteran of Chestnut Street parades", comes to fame along with "the gentlemanly Franklin Pierce, a social and political hero of Concord, New Hampshire" (II. 78). Now and then sarcasm is replaced by the direct blow.

for instance the volunteer establishment was "officered by loafers without merit some of whom had been run out of the service for bad conduct before the enemy" (II. 76).

There is, then, no effort to gloze over with soft words the conduct of Americans, or to paint as statesmanlike our conduct of the war. Even Polk, who might have been spared, as President, his squeaky shoes and tight pants, is given his full mead of responsibility for dunderheadedness. Taylor's incompetence, insubordination, and insufferable ambition are offset by his fatherliness and unflinching personal courage. The crudity of our politics and our ghastly incompetence are redeemed somewhat by the portrait of Scott, who here moves as more of a gentleman and soldier than tradition has preserved.

The conduct of the war leaves us little to be proud of save the almost unfailing courage of the men under fire, for "when dangers thickened and death talked more familiarly face to face, the men seemed to rise above every terror" (II. 54). But for this quality we might ask why, in spite of Mexican ineffectualness, we won the war at all, for:

While the Congress of the United States did not approach that of Mexico in badness, there was too much resemblance. . . . For an elect body our Congress fell below all reasonable expectations. The comedy of its political manoeuvres was only surpassed by the tragedy of them. Amos Kendall said, after the hostilities began, "There can be no peace with that people but through victory or with dishonor", and any person of judgment could see this; yet prejudices, passions, and interests prevented many from honestly supporting a national war, and turned not a few into virtual enemies of their country. Markoe wrote from Vera Cruz with reference to Clay, Webster, Gallatin, and others of their school, "These great men have by their speeches done more to prevent peace than though they had each of them severally arrayed 10,000 Mexicans against Scott. . . .

. . . To think of giving him so small an army that the Mexicans felt positively ashamed to yield! And then to reflect how politics went into the army itself, endangering the lives of men and the fortunes of the country through unfit appointments. "How we have been gulled and led about," exclaimed a soldier, "by a set of political demagogues, who, regardless of the fearful responsibility, have forced themselves into positions they possess no qualifications to fill, with a hope thereby to promote their future political aggrandizement!" (II. 313-314).

It is worth while to examine with some detention of interest the development of the thesis that the war was "an episode that has been regarded in the United States and abroad as quite discreditable to us, [but] now appears to wear quite a different complexion" (Preface, p. ix). The preparation for this conclusion begins at the outset, as is

shown by the first excerpt quoted above. The next step is the more correctly gloomy characterization of the political inheritance from Spain, and of the tortuous mazes of Mexican politics after independence. At the end of this turbulent period, through which the sinister figure of Santa Anna now struts, now dodges, and then crawls, when the arch plotter had been banished, and his successor Herrera had failed to unite the bickering factions, "many prayed for some respectable despot, many for a foreign prince, and some of the more thoughtful suggested cautiously an American protectorate" (I. 56).

The reasons for the troubles at the time of the ministry of Poinsett were many. Some of them were caused by that minister's attempts to negotiate treaties concerning boundaries and commerce and amity. These difficulties are set forth by the author, but the initial cause of the suspicious frame of mind of the Mexicans, namely our desire to purchase Mexican territory, coupled with our intent to push the line farther south than the Mexicans wished, is hardly emphasized with impartial appreciation. Nor is Poinsett's partisanship in the masonic-political agitation of his period adduced as a comprehensible reason why the Mexicans should suspect the activities of the Americans.

To this suspicion, and to the delay until 1832 over boundaries and commerce, were added border troubles over Indian raids, smuggling, and the Texas question. In these we ourselves were not quite blameless, though practically so, for, as in the Texas matter, our "few trespasses against the law of neutrality were in substance only just retribution for the tyranny, misgovernment, and atrocities of Mexico. In reality, therefore, our skirts were as clean as reasonably could have been expected." (I, 63).

The attempt to justify ethically the course of Manifest Destiny should, to be strong, not overlook the psychological cause of the Mexican attitude—the clutching fear which enervated Spanish policy in colonial times, then expressed by the Count de Aranda after our own independence, and later dilated upon by Alamán, himself the initiator of Mexico's policy toward the Anglo-Saxon advance. If the author means by adducing proof that Mexico played the timorous, the illogical, the incompetent, or the atrocious part in the contact, whereas the Americans acted as potential conquerors, usually with technical correctness, but always with a land-hungry, onward pushing stride because they were the stronger, if he means in short, that the course of events was natural and inevitable, given the characters of the two peoples, his case is clear. But to justify politically or morally all of

the steps or all of the motives by which we were placed in a situation where war was inevitable is an argument to the effect that might makes right.

The theme goes on through the administrations of Jackson and Polk, showing that both were patient beyond need, and strove to avoid war or taking territory from Mexico. The points are well put. One of the best worked out is the demonstration that Mexico held the belief, backed by foreign opinion, that she would win if war came. This offers a new interpretation to explain our pre-war ebulliency, for we did not anticipate how difficult it would be to "revel in the Halls of the Montezumas".

Professor Smith denies that desire for more slave area, or for California, or the Texas boundary, were real causes of the conflict. Nor did Polk cherish secret ambition for expansion. The war was essentially due to the annexation of Texas, but the general cause of hostilities was the series of unpleasant incidents, from Poinsett to Slidell, which had been used as stock in trade by Mexican politicians to foster hatred for the United States. Paredes used this tradition to bring on war to cement his power. Hence an attack upon our army was ordered. "This was the precise cause of the war," (I. 190).

As a nationalistic, partisan history, the book makes a good case for the author's contention. If it had been written from the continental rather than the national viewpoint, the element of justification for the acts of one party or other to the conflict would have received less attention. Not the rancors precedent to a conflict, but the event of it, the gain in well-being of peoples, justify wars. The clash of psychologies along the southern border takes a trend almost purely biological. There is no question of justification for the hound that catches the hare, nor culpability for the hare that is caught. There is inexorableness. The Mexicon War was inexorable. Our new American Southwest is the justification—of Darwin.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

Present and Past Banking in Mexico. By Walter Flavius McCaleb. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920. Pp. xxii, 269. \$2.00.)

This volume is the first to be published of the researches carried on under the auspices of the Foundation for the study of Mexican affairs established by Mr. E. L. Doheny of Los Angeles in 1917. In the words of the author, the book is an attempt "to trace the history of the credit

institutions of the country from their initial stages down to the present time", and "to stress the salient facts in the extraordinary story of the rise and fall of banking in our neighboring republic" (p. xii).

The history of banking in Mexico may be divided into four main periods. The first period, the rudimentary beginnings, may be said to have closed with the end of the González administration in 1884. That year witnessed the founding of the Banco Nacional, and the promulgation of the Code of Commerce which, in the words of Finance Minister La Peña, was prepared largely to define "the general bases to which banking institutions must conform" (pp. 27–28). The issuance of this Code marked the first step away from the scheme of specially chartered institutions, and it contains many of the essential bases upon which Limantour afterwards built.

The second period, from 1884 to 1897, was a period of experiment and transition. It proved difficult to bring the special concessions of the individual institutions into harmony with the general provisions of the Code of Commerce, and Limantour determined to promulgate the general banking law of 1897 and to bring all the banks into line.

The third period, from 1897 to the Madero revolution of 1911, was the heyday of Mexican banking development. Banks multiplied from 16 in 1898 to double that number in 1909, their capital and assets grew rapidly, and on the whole they prospered greatly. Yet the banking structure was not wholly sound. The funds of the banks were invested to a large extent in non-liquid assets. Furthermore, many institutions had adopted the dangerous practice of favoritism in loans to friends and to their own officers and directors, had tied up much capital in subsidiary enterprises (many of them unsound), and had made advances based upon hypothecation of the shares of affiliated institutions. Limantour took strong measures to reform the situation in 1908–09, but the revolution broke before the measures had borne full fruit.

The revolutionary period, since 1911, has witnessed the decline and fall of credit institutions in Mexico. The chapters which Dr. McCaleb devotes to this period (pp. 203–260) are sketchy but full of interest. According to our author, Madero "levied upon the banks with callous hand", and his policy meant "destruction by virtue of looting or through dissipation of the . . . assets" (p. 203); Huerta levied forced loans, making the banks take national bonds (which could not be placed abroad) in exchange for bank-notes (pp. 215–21); Villa seized cash and bank-notes (p. 217); while Carranza forced the banks into liquidation.

annulled most of the concessions, and borrowed their specie reserves to meet the deficits of the Treasury (pp. 230 et seq.). Of special interest is a memorandum, cited in full, prepared for Dr. McCaleb by Señor F. G. Camacho, Chief of the Department of Banking under the Carranza administration, in which the policy of that administration toward the banks is set forth and explained (pp. 251–255).

Dr. McCaleb has based his study both upon such documentary data as were to be found in libraries and upon data collected in the course of a field investigation in the United States and Mexico. He has conferred with many who have been engaged in banking and other business in Mexico and with officials of the several Mexican administrations. The result of his study is a well-proportioned survey of the subject, judicial in tone. At times the main lines of the narrative are beclouded by details, but this is due more to the complexity of the subject than to the style of the writer. This volume should be of interest to many interested in Mexican questions other than banking, since the data there presented assist the reader to appraise the policies followed in the régimes of Diaz and his successors.

The reviewer finds little from which he would dissent except on certain points (not of first importance to the main argument) respecting monetary questions. The statement that, owing to the monetary reform of 1905,

The wage scales had need to be revised in all their schedules, running through agriculture, mining, and industry. Prices of goods in every mart had to be overhauled; tariff schedules and taxes of all types had need to be revamped to meet the changed conditions.

is not supported by evidence in the book. The reviewer is not aware of facts which justify such a broad statement. Indeed, Dr. McCaleb says on page 195 that the transition from a silver to a gold standard "on the surface, appeared to have been made without a ripple of disturbance".

It would have been interesting had Dr. McCaleb found it possible to describe more fully the activities in Mexico of private banks and branches of foreign banks, also had he considered further the extent to which Mexican and foreign interests relatively were concerned in the ownership and management of the financial institutions of the country.

The Spanish word "reservas" is translated "reserves" (e.g., pp.88–90, 101), but the corresponding American equivalent in banking terminology is "surplus". On page 13, "1819" should read "1919".

ARTHUR N. YOUNG.

Spain's Declining Power in South America. By Bernard Moses. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919, pp. xx, 440.)

This volume from the pen of Professor Moses is in fact a continuation of his Spanish Dependencies in South America. The same method and plans are followed in both works, and the new production has the same virtues and faults as the previous treatise. Spain's Declining Power in South America deals with the third period outlined in the preface of the earlier work (I. v) which period, according to the author, "is especially distinguished by the increasing social importance of the creoles and mestizos, the disastrous effects of Spain's commercial policy, the decline of loyalty to the mother country, and the successful struggle for independence". This period covers the years from 1730 to 1824, while the volume under review treats of the years 1730 to 1806, or the first three of the topics indicated in the above quotation.

From the title, one would expect an orderly and continuous account of the facts incident to a gradual decline of the colonial power of Spain. Instead, however, there is given a series of studies of episodes in the colonial life which to the author indicate the rapidly waning power of Spain. The narratives of these episodes are placed roughly in chronological order and treat of the various areas in South America under Spanish control. Since the author recognizes the lack of unity both as to time and space in the subject matter presented (p. xx), the title should have more nearly harmonized with the contents of the volume.

The allotment of space both as to area and time does not seem to be determined by logical principle, but rather by the intrinsic interest and available material upon the several topics discussed. Thus certain periods receive very full treatment, v.g., 1730-50, 88 pages, 1767-1782, 158 pages, 1790-1806, 59 pages, while other long periods of time receive scarcely any mention. With respect to the various regions, Paraguay has one chapter, Rio de la Plata, two, Peru, two, Peru and Chile, two, New Granada, two, Venezuela, one, and three chapters are general in scope.

The fundamental criticism of the Spanish colonial system and the basis of the decline is set forth by the author in the statement that "the practice of the crown in conferring important offices in America only upon persons sent from Spain moved the creoles and mestizos gradually to constitute themselves a society apart from the Spaniards" (p. ix). The underlying thesis of the volume seems to be that during the period treated there were developed a self-consciousness and a

self-sufficiency on the part of the colonists which would inevitably lead to independence. The various chapters dealing with the isolated revolts of the eighteenth century, the expulsion of the Jesuits, which removed a very effective guiding hand of the mother country, the administrative changes in Rio de la Plata region, the interest in science and politics, the expedition of Miranda, and the defense of Buenos Aires against the English, are arguments adduced in support of the theory. It may be questioned whether the facts narrated had created to any appreciable degree a general feeling of self-consciousness among the Spanish South Americans in the eighteenth century, and whether any of the acts of the colonists other than the defense of Buenos Aires had instilled in their minds the idea of self-sufficiency.

Scarcely sufficient attention is given to the reform movement of the mother country in the eighteenth century and there is no indication that the abuses which caused the revolts of that period were largely eliminated before 1800. The misspelling of Spanish words, especially "ordenanza" mars the otherwise excellent typography of the book. A list of the works referred to would be a helpful addition.

The volume is based on secondary works, which are mostly in Spanish, and thus is a welcome contribution in English to the literature of South American history. It is readable and interesting, as are all of Professor Moses's works, and will be of service both to the scholar and the general reader.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Understanding South America. By CLAYTON SEDGWICK COOPER. (New York: George H. Doran Company, [1918]. Pp. 426. Illustrated. Index. \$2.00.)

A distinguished Frenchman is said to have remarked that the "success of any book of travel depends on the writer's not indicating the sources whence he drew his information"; in other words, that his picture of the countries visited should be so complete that the different threads of the fabric could not be readily distinguished. To the writer this is the most serious defect in Mr. Cooper's account of his tour around South America. His phrase on page 248 of "unanalyzed wonder" might be well applied to some of his own observations. Although Mr. Cooper's work is far more than the average book of travel, it falls short of being a serious contribution to a better understanding of Hispanic America not merely through its repetition, but also through the

failure of the author to get away from a travel viewpoint. However, his comparisons with other parts of the world add greatly to the value of the book.

For those who desire a rather incomplete and hasty sketch of Hispanic American conditions, Mr. Cooper's book is recommended as easy reading. In his twenty-one chapters, it treats, after an introductory chapter, of the following matters: The Oriental South American; The German in Latin America; Business and politics in Panama; Two mountain republics—The Ecuadorians and Bolivians; The Peruvians; Natural Resources of Peru; The Indian of Peru; Cuzco and the Incas of today; Laws and customs of the Ancient Incas; Chilean men; Santiago, the city of aristocracy; Business opportunities on the west coast; Pioneers in South American trade; The Argentines; Buenos Aires—the city de luxe; The South American cowboy; Uruguay and the Uruguayans; The men of Brazil; Brazil—as Brazilians see her; Automobiling in Brazil; The Sea that guards Rio; South American women; The Religion of the South Americans; South Americans at school; The American Consul and his work; and Winning South America.

The author appears not to have enjoyed any contact with the leaders in literary and artistic fields in the countries visited. The volume is really good only in spots. Some of the characterizations are very timely, such as "Pan Americanism is still too much a paper idealism to satisfy its most keen and ardent supporters and promoters" (p. 45). On the other hand several of his statements will not bear close analysis. Guayaquil has twice 40,000 inhabitants (p. 89); and Mr. Cooper's accounts of educational conditions in the different Hispanic American countries are rather amusing reading to one who is a graduate from two South American universities. His information concerning them seems to have been almost wholly drawn from the various protestant missionary workers with whom he came in contact. His statement (p. 236) of the 50,000 English in Argentina is an underestimate. His remarks on bad packing add little to a hackneyed phase of an important subject.

The volume exhibits a considerable "promoting" character. An entire chapter, for instance, is devoted to the activities of a single firm, with which the author, by the way, is connected. Without reflecting in any way on the growth and usefulness of that house, there were many United States firms active in Hispanic American trade long before it was organized.

In conclusion, it should be remarked that our South American cousins hate to be "discovered". They are a proud people; they feel that they have a history and a literature of their own and that they are internationally known already. There are already too many boom books on Hispanic America. What are needed are books written with an intellectual sympathy like the wonderful interpretation of Mexico by Señora Calderón de la Barca.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

Jamaica under the Spaniards. Abstracted from the Archives of Seville, by Frank Cundall, F.S.A. and Joseph L. Pietersz. (Kingston, Jamaica, Institute of Jamaica, 1919. Pp. (5), 115. Maps; index. Paper.)

This volume furnishes the student with a prime source for the history of Jamaica. The material from which it was compiled was collected at the Archivo General de Indias under the supervision of Miss Irene A. Wright, who has produced so much historical work on Cuba, and who has a paper on Cuban history in this number of the Review. To quote from the preface

The documents copied consist of letters from Spanish governors of Jamaica; communications from the Crown to Jamaica or issued concerning Jamaica; communications from royal officials, and letters from secular individuals and the clergy.

These were translated by Mr. J. L. Pietersz, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Jamaica, under the auspices of which the present work was published, and excerpts of these translations are published in this volume. The transcripts themselves, the translation of which the Institute hopes to publish entire, are conserved in the West India Reference Library of the Institute of Jamaica. It is suggested that the Institute publish not only the translation, but the originals as well.

It is interesting to note that, whereas prior to the publication of this work, the names of only three Spanish governors of Jamaica were known, these documents have added those of seventeen others, the list of whom will be found in the first appendix to the volume. There is a wealth of detail of the early history of Jamaica from all angles, the data being set forth in excerpts from the documents and in compilation. The importance of the material is shown by the fact brought out in a footnote, namely, that the earliest document found in Seville (dated

1511) antedates the earliest colonial paper in the record office at London

by sixty-three years.

The narrative is divided into four chapters, namely: Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; First half of seventeenth century; English occupation; and Cartography. There are two appendices, the first of which has been noted above, and a "List of manuscripts consulted". The first three chapters have analytical headings, and there is, in addition, an index. The fourth chapter is of considerable interest, and describes the eight maps of Jamaica found in the Archivo de Indias. While undated, five of the maps, it is conjectured, were drawn about 1655 or 1656. Four of these maps are reproduced in the work, namely, The Island of Jamaica with its ports and shoals, by Gerardo Coeny, cosmographer to the king; South-Eastern Jamaica; and The harbour of Caguaya (two maps).

The volume has no special literary form, being only a bald statement of fact, partly translated and partly condensed, taken from the manuscripts. For that very reason, these annals will be an invaluable aid to the historian who will write the history of Jamaica. The book, which throws considerable new light on many events, should be examined in comparison with the old Spanish chronicles of discovery and settlement. Here, again, is still another occasion to give appreciative thanks to the Spaniards who have known so well how to conserve their historical manuscripts.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

The Inscriptions at Copán. By Sylvanus Griswold Morley. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Washington: Gibson Brothers, 1920. Pp. 643, viii. Plates. Large Paper.

It is not every day that a reviewer has the privilege of criticizing such a scholarly, informative, and magnificently printed book as that which Mr. Sylvanus Griswold Morley has just produced. It embodies the results of ten years of work by the man who has gained for himself the general reputation of the foremost student of Central American archaeology in the United States. Large though the volume is, it is a highly concentrated treatise, being, in effect, a general summary of most of the phases of the study of Yucatan and Guatemala and their early inhabitants and civilization as represented at the City of Copán.

There are five chapters and twelve appendices. Superficially, it would seem as if this betokened poorly balanced material. As a matter of

fact, such is not the case, for the five chapters occupy 463 pages and the appendices, bibliography, and index together but 186.

Chapter I. is an Introduction in which there are sections fully treating "Location and environment", "Description of the site", "History of the site", "History of the decipherment of the Maya hieroglyphic writing", "Scope of the present investigation", and "Method of treatment". This chapter, like the whole book, is amply supplied with fine photographs (mostly used by courtesy of the Peabody Museum, of Harvard University), reproductions of old pre-Columbian texts, and excellently made plans of the city of Copán. The function of the chapter is amply fulfilled, namely, that of preparing the reader for what is to follow.

Chapters II., III., and IV. are respectively "The inscriptions of the Early Period", "The inscriptions of the Middle Period", and "The inscriptions of the Great Period". These three chapters are best reviewed together. Morley's "Early Period" lasts from the earliest times down to 373 A.D. (9.10.0.0.0. in Maya dating). Twenty-two monuments are known which may safely be assigned to this period. The three most important of them are Altars J', K', and L'. The original position of all of these is now unknown, all having been thrown down the slope near a later monument (in the foundation of which they were found) or, in the case of Altar L', having been used in a Christian building. As Plate 8 shows, the carving on these altars is rude, which is only natural considering their early date, the earliest one, Altar J' being dated 176-275 A.D. (9.0.0.0.0. to 9.5.0.0.0.). Early though this is, Morley has found at Copán still earlier inscriptions, carved in low relief, which can not be surely deciphered. It is well here to remind the reader that the earliest known Maya inscription is that on the Tuxtla Statuette equal to about 100 B.C. (8.6.2.4.17.). It is interesting to note that Morley finds pronounced progress during this Early Period in the matter of technical ability in stone-carving. The sculpture of the human figure and other difficult subjects makes a very notable beginning. Incidentally, it should be remarked that Morley's drawings of the ancient inscriptions (of which photographs are also given) are most faithfully executed.

The "Middle Period" lasted from 373 to 492 A.D. (9.10.0.0.0. to 9.15.0.0.0.). It is characterized by ever-increasing dexterity as shown by the inscriptions and other carving on the monuments.

The "Great Period" lasted from 492 to 630 A.D. (9.15.0.0.0. to 10.2.0.0.0.). Regarding this period, one of superb picturesqueness,

Morley says (page 219) "The culture of this tribe or people (the Mayas) was at its zenith. Wealth of a concrete kind was doubtless at the disposal of the ruling caste, for only vast accumulations of stored-up capital, in the form of reserves of food, clothing, and implements, as well as a large and skilled artisan class, both the outcome of long-continued and wisely directed prosperity, could have made possible such truly remarkable achievements in architecture and sculpture". Maya civilization in that time, at Copán and other great cities in southern Yucatan and northern Guatemala, was of an exceedingly high order. It is generously displayed in Morley's pages.

Chapter V. consists of conclusions, and it contains sections treating of "General comparisons", "Probable function of the Maya monuments", "The origin of the Maya civilization", "History of Copán during the Old Empire", "Other cities of the Old Empire", and "The fall of the Old Empire". Several of these call for brief comment here. From the "General comparisons" we learn that Copán, with 59 dated inscriptions, has more dates than any other Old Empire city, Piedras Negras coming next, with 25. From the second section, we learn that the probable function of the Maya monuments was that of indicating and commemorating the passage of the successive divisions of the marvelous "Long Count" or calendar of the Mayas. The origin of the Maya civilization, purely American in character, is well discussed by Morley.

Regarding the "History of Copán during the Old Empire", Morley has much of great interest to tell us. He traces the artistic evolution, he defines and describes the architectural accomplishments, and he portrays the general trend in the growth of the majestic city. This section is fully rounded out by the succeeding one regarding the "Other cities of the Old Empire". In that section he co-ordinates all that was done at Copán with the cultural progress manifested by the other cities of that region at more or less the same period.

The last section of the chapter, that on "The fall of the Old Empire", is especially full of interest. Copán, and all the other cities of southern Yucatan and northern Guatemala, belonged to the Old Empire of the Mayas, that is to the state or series of states created by that remarkable folk in the region named during the six or more centuries prior to about 600 A.D. The civilization then and there flourishing was one wherein a theocratic government, based probably on spiritual terrorism rather than on a constantly maintained show of armed force, preserved good order in all the chief activities of the community. Yet, for more

than a century (roughly speaking the seventh century of our era), the territory of the Old Empire was being emptied by an exodus into northern Yucatan where, later on, a New Empire sprang up equal in brilliancy to the Old Empire. It is only with the latter that we are concerned here. The causes of the exodus are not surely known. The best suggestions made as to their nature are: 1. Degeneracy created by prolonged prosperity and an increasingly stultifying control by the priesthood (Spinden); 2. Climatic changes, especially an injurious increase in the amount of rainfall (E. Huntington); and 3. Exhaustion of the soil brought about by the imperfect agricultural technique of the Mayas (O. F. Cook). Morley himself inclines to believe that all of these, in addition to other causes, may have had a part in bringing about the exodus northwards.

Of the Appendices, the following are the most interesting to the general student:

II. "The Correlation of Maya and Christian Chronology". For the reason that the Maya were the one people of Ancient America who evolved a really accurate calendar and a truly precise system of dating, it is of the utmost importance that a nice correlation of their chronology with our own be plotted out. This Morley has done, availing himself of all the good work of his numerous eminent predecessors, but at the same time avoiding and correcting their perfectly pardonable errors. It can be said that Morley, by putting the correlation of Maya and Christian chronologies into final shape, has provided students of all the fields of American archaeology with a chronological measuring-stick whereby they can rationally hope to formulate a chronology for every one of the other advanced cultures of pre-Christian America. The bases on which Morley has erected his correlation are so numerous, so authentic and so various that it is patent that his work will permanently resist with success all efforts to break down his results.

Appendix IV. contains a reprint of Diego García de Palacio's description of Copán. García was an Oidor of the Audiencia Real de Guatemala, and on March 8, 1576, he wrote his descriptive letter about Copán to the King of the Spains, Philip II. It should be noted that this letter has already been edited numerous times, and in several languages.

Appendix V. is "A description of the Ruins of Copán" by Captain Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, and is translated from the unpublished second part of Fuentes's *Recordación Florida* (1689). It is noteworthy that Morley is one of those rare archaeologists who do not lose all interest in American archaeology the instant Christianity makes its appearance on the scene.

Appendices VI. to X. inclusive are of a highly technical nature not

requiring comment here.

Appendix XI. is "A description of the ruins of Copán" by Juan Galindo. In June, 1834, Colonel Juan Galindo made a study of the ruins of Copán at the behest of Dr. Mariano Gálvez, Commander-in-chief of the State of Guatemala. As a result of his researches, Colonel Galindo wrote three letters to various learned publications, all of which were duly printed. But a still more important report, directed to Dr. Gálvez, was lost and never saw the light until Morley published it in this volume. The original manuscript had for some years been in the possession of Mr. William Gates, he having acquired it from an European collector.

Appendix XII. is an interesting description of the "Mayance" linguistic stock and its distribution written by Mr. William Gates; and the last pages of the book are taken up with an excellent bibliography and a good index.

To conclude, this is a masterpiece of scholarly archaeological research. It is a book to which all students in this field will inevitably have to refer constantly. The Carnegie Institution of Washington and the Press of Gibson Brothers in Washington must be congratulated on the book-making skill displayed in this volume.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

196 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. June 26th, 1920.

Racial Factors in Democracy. By Philip Ainsworth Means (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918. Pp. x, 278. \$2.50.)

Although the title of this volume gives no indication thereof, a section of it (pp. 87-215, "The isolated cultures of America") is devoted entirely to ancient civilizations in territory now included in Hispanic America, and many examples are drawn from the ancient American cultures throughout the book. Primarily anthropological in tone, the work in its first part presents in small compass the growth of human culture in various parts of the world, and is suggestive.

Notwithstanding that the title-page of the volume reads "1918", and the preface is dated "October 26, 1918", it was copyrighted in 1919, and did not appear, in fact, until that year. At the beginning of his introductory chapter, the author says:

Because the whole world is now passing through the most critical period it has ever known, and because human culture and social civilization stand today in the doorway of a new period, it is well to examine introspectively the matter and nature of culture, that is, of man and of the manner in which he has placed himself in relation with natural and environmental circumstances.

And later in the same section he states the purpose of his volume as follows:

The general aim of this book is that of setting forth as briefly and convincingly as I can the exact nature of the principles which have governed the growth of civilization in the past and that of studying the application of those principles to current problems.

Following the introductory chapter, Mr. Means discusses in chapters II.—IX. the origin of the human race and the inception of human culture; a study of a series of constantly linked cultures; partially isolated and completely isolated cultures; the fundamental laws of cultural growth; democracy and world civilization; democracy, race appreciation, and future society; the anthropological aspects of colonization; and general conclusions. Following the text is an extensive "bibliography of works consulted, referred to and quoted" of thirty pages, which was arranged and organized by Mrs. James Means. This would have presented a better typographical appearance had the printer set it up in capitals and lower case instead of all in capitals. Throughout the volume, the footnotes cite helpful bibliographical references. The volume lacks an index, which is to be regretted as no analytical table of contents can quite take the place of a good index.

In the section above noted treating of cultures in America, the author takes direct issue with the Manchester (England) school of anthropologists, in which he agrees substantially with the American school, when he says that there is not a "trace of any connection between the high culture of the American continent in the Pre-Columbian period and those of the outside world at any period"—a question that will continue to be argued between the two camps. The description of ancient culture centers in America, though brief, is interesting, especially that of ancient Andean civilizations—a subject to which Mr. Means has given considerable study both from books and in actual investigation in South America. It may be objected to by some that he has presented too rosy a picture of the ancient Inca civilization. It has not been his purpose in this section, as in preceding and other matter to present other than a hasty review of ancient cultures, and he does not pretend to introduce new material.

The first five chapters lead up to the author's real purpose. The first section of this chapter treats of "Cultural relationships and racial relationships" in which he introduces as a forceful element in the real democratization of society the principle of race appreciation, which is defined as a "doctrine or policy shot through with a spirit of kindliness and generosity", and which is described as being "eager to find good and useful elements among all peoples wherever and whenever possible and, on finding them, to employ them for the benefit of mankind in general, not for that of one group in particular". In the second section of this chapter "The nature of democracy", the author states that the preceding material has been by way of preparation and foundation for the ideas expounded in the rest of the book, and expresses his belief that all who have thought earnestly upon questions of public interest and have come to certain definite conclusions owe it to society to present those ideas in published form for future use. In the succeeding pages, Mr. Means has acted upon this conviction, and although all persons will not agree with what he suggests in the way of government, he has abundantly proven that he has been thinking along constructive lines and he has here left the record of his thought. As a factor in inducing the growth of democracy, he advocates the conscious employment of race appreciation, a subject on which he has written several essays. The volume is a recognition of the value of the anthropological factor.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE CHILEAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Chilean writers look upon the year 1813 as that which marked the beginning of their educational system. It was then that the revolutionary government, though at that very time in the thick of the War of Independence against Spain, saw fit to found the Instituto Nacional (National Institute). To be sure, something had existed in the colonial period, but, except for the old University of San Felipe, scarcely anything worthy of mention. As a result of the disasters to the patriot cause in the year 1814 the Instituto Nacional was closed, but reopened in 1819, since which time it has had a continuous existence.

In name the University of San Felipe lived on, for a few years, but the Instituto Nacional now monopolized higher education, serving both as a liceo (high school) and university in one. In 1839 the University of San Felipe was formally closed. In 1842 the University of Chile was founded, and in 1843 began to function. Henceforth the Instituto Nacional remained as a liceo only, and today is but one out of ninety. Its tame, however, is quite on a par with that of the University, not only because it was itself the university in earlier years, but also because by far the greater number of the most distinguished men in the history of Chile have received their education within its walls.

Since the University was founded, there have been twelve Rectors, or Presidents. Among the earlier Rectors the names of Andrés Bello and Barros Arana, respectively first and seventh, strike the attention of one who is looking over the list. Bello, though a native of Venezuela, belongs to Chile as a literary figure. His is perhaps the greatest name in the history of Chilean literature. Barros Arana is remembered primarily as one of the greatest historians that Chile has produced. Worthy compatriots of these men are the two latest of the "twelve Apostles", Valentín Letelier and Domingo Amunátegui, respectively eleventh and twelfth of the Rectors of the University. Letelier was a profound scholar, author of learned works on education,

historical method, and law. Amunategui has been Rector of the University since 1911. A member of a family which has been unusually distinguished in the history of Chilean education and historiography, he has won renown in his own right which will inevitably entitle him to rank among the leading men of letters of Chile. As administrator, teacher, and historical scholar he would stand among the foremost in any country of the world. Withal he is possessed of such a fund of amiability as to win the unaffected devotion and friendship of all who are privileged to know him.¹

Four facts about present-day education in Chile impress themselves upon the investigator: the honored position of the "professor", including in that title all teachers, from the university to the primary school; the position and power of the University of Chile; the Germanic character of the system as a whole and of the methods of instruction; and the enthusiastic progress that is being made.

In Chile the "professor" is a person of distinction and influence, especially the favored group of those who obtain posts in Santiago. It is no uncommon thing for, let us say, a normal-school teacher to hobnob with ministers of state or even the President of the country himself. This is a pleasing surprise to the American professor who sees it for the first time. On the other hand, the Chileans get more glory than pay. Very few of the university professors, for example, are able to make a living out of their profession; they find it necessary to do something in addition, such as practice law or medicine or teach in secondary schools. Poorly as American teachers are paid, they nevertheless are in this particular in a better position than their brethren in Chile.

Unlike our own system of local responsibility for education, that of Chile is wholly under the control of the national government; even a primary school in an obscure village responds to orders, not from some local board, but from the ministry of education in Santiago. At the head of the system—one is half inclined to say nominally at the head—stands the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction. Chilean ministries rise and fall with such startling rapidity, in obedience to the parliamentary type of government which obtains in the country, that it is almost impossible for a cabinet member to become thoroughly

¹ This article in its preliminary form had the advantage of the constructive criticism of Señor Amunátegui, and such value as it may have is due primarily to him. It is needless to add that the above comments on Señor Amunátegui himself did not appear in the draft that he saw.

acquainted, even, with his own department. This has caused foreign students to believe, mistakenly, that this country is in a state of perpetual administrative chaos. The truth is that government goes on in spite of changing ministries, because the employes of lesser rank than the minister are appointed for life. There is no such thing as a "house-cleaning" on the advent to power of some hitherto minority party. Removals can take place, to be sure, but only for cause. The rule of life employment is very fairly observed. Indeed, one of the most important functions of a minister is to appoint his own political adherents to posts that have automatically become vacant, thus preserving his influence and that of his party after both have fallen from power.

This may be illustrated by the case of education. The various ministers in that branch have policies which change as rapidly as do the ministers. Next in rank to them comes the sub-secretary of education, the actual directing force of the system, and he remains. So too with other important officials, such as the sub-secretary of secondary and higher education and the inspector of primary schools. The last named official, for example, is a virtual dictator over the primary schools of the entire country. Under him are some 7,000 teachers, whom in first instance he appoints (whenever there is a vacancy) and whom he may dismiss for cause. It is true that his acts must be approved by the minister, but in practice they are.

From the foregoing one can easily see why it is that the University of Chile should hold such a powerful place in the educational affairs of the country. The Rector and the university professors are the only individuals of educational prestige who are constantly before the eyes of the public. To be sure, many of the officials in the educational bureaucracy are men of great distinction, but the system does not necessarily require them so to be, and their position is such that they inevitably prefer to do their work quietly, without seeking fame or risking denunciation. Thus it is that the opinions of the Rector or of the Council of the University have great weight. Furthermore, vast powers have been granted to the University, so that on the one hand it possesses extraordinary liberty in its internal government and on the other has a very nearly dominant place over the other schools below it. It is doubtful if any university in the world exercises so wide an authority.

By law the University is subordinate to the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction. In fact it is virtually independent. The most important governing body of the University is the Council, made up of the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, the Rector of the University, the Secretary General of the University, the five Deans of the University, the Rector of the Instituto Nacional, three members named by the President of Chile, and two named by the Cloister (or faculty) of the University-fourteen in all. This body is in a sense the legislature of the entire educational system in Chile as well as of the University. The Minister might refuse to follow its advice, but he rarely does, unless it is in conflict with his own educational policy. From the very composition of the Council, it is easy to see that the Rector of the University would in fact be the dominating power. He also has a virtually determining influence, in company with the two members from the Cloister, over all administrative appointments within the University and all appointments of teachers to the liceos. He and his two associates place five names in nomination, from which the Council selects three, and the President of the country (or the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction) one. It is the custom for the Rector to indicate his choice by the order in which he lists his nominees; it is said that the names after the first often represent persons who it is known would not accept the appointment if it were proffered. At any rate his candidates are almost invariably selected. Indeed, certainly so far as the learned and amiable gentleman now at the head of the University is concerned, the Rector may be said to be easily the most important figure in the national educational system, for, subject though he is to the Council, he in fact has the support of that body.

Within the University itself the faculty has such power as is almost undreamed of in the United States. The whole body of the faculty forms the Cloister, to which also belong certain distinguished scholars who, though they are not teachers in the University, are elected by the Cloister itself to membership therein; in their case election to the Cloister is equivalent in Chile to becoming an Academician in such countries as France and Spain. In the main, perhaps, the meetings of the Cloister are of the same harmless variety as the typical faculty meetings in universities of the United States, but it has several very important functions. It elects the two members of the Council who join with the Rector in the making of appointments in first instance. as described above, and who therefore give the faculty a voice in the deliberations of the powerful Council. In like manner the Cloister elects the Secretary General of the University, who also sits with the Council. Of still more import, it elects the Rector of the University himself! Still further, the Rector as such is the only member of the faculty who does not hold a life appointment. His term of office runs for but four years. It has been the custom, however, to reëlect the Rector. Señor Amunátegui is now in his third term, and is universally popular.

In yet other ways, though in many of them apart from the Cloister, the members of the faculty have a wide-reaching authority. The University controls secondary education in that the teachers of liceos must have a "title", or degree, authorizing them to teach, and this can be obtained only from the University of Chile. But the student cannot possibly receive his title unless first he wins the approbation of his individual professors. In like manner the University and the members of the faculty have vast power over the medical profession, for here, too, the degree of the University is a license to practice and is the only license that is given. Thus the faculty of the University has a function in Chile which in the United States is reserved by the government to itself. The University alone can grant titles in various other professions—engineering, for example—but their acquisition is not required, wherefore one need not attend the University of Chile to study these branches. Finally, the faculty, this time in the meetings of the Cloister, decides on appointments to its own body whenever any vacancy in the teaching staff occurs. Whatever the law on the point may be, it is the fact that these elections are determining.

It is to be remembered, too, that the University of Chile occupies a unique place among the higher institutions of learning. A little farther up the Alameda de Delicias, the broad avenue upon which the University faces, is the Catholic University of Chile, which duplicates many of the courses in the national university. Nevertheless, it may not grant "titles", wherefore it necessarily suffers by comparison with the University of Chile. A private university has recently been established at Concepción in southern Chile, but this has yet to win a share in the extraordinary power now possessed by the University of Chile alone.

Through the Council the University of Chile has very great power over primary education, but less, however, than over the secondary schools. Aspirants for the title of primary school teacher do not enter the University, but go instead to some one of the various normal schools. Naturally, the amount of preparation required of a primary school teacher is less by several years than for the teachers in secondary education. To a certain extent the power of the normal schools in primary education resembles that of the University in the case of the *liceos*, since they have the sole power to grant or withhold titles. There

are a number of normal schools, however, instead of one central institution, and this makes it easier for the government inspector of primary schools to wield a power of which the official in charge of university and secondary education would never dream.

The University seal has five symbols to represent the different colleges of which it is composed. These are Theology, Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Philosophy and the Humanities. One of these, that of Theology, is virtually non-existent. In 1835 a theological seminary was established apart from the Instituto Nacional, which at that time served as the state university. If theological students seek a degree in theology, they must obtain it from the University. Since, however, the church makes priests, and not the state, the students of the seminary do not in fact present themselves at the University. Curiously enough, nevertheless, one of the five Deans of the University represents Theology—a post which is purely and simply an historical survival.

Really there are several other minor schools, or colleges, within the University, such as Pharmacy, Dentistry, Architecture, Fine Arts, and Physical Education. All of the schools of the University are rigorously professional and more or less mutually exclusive. A student who has failed in one of them cannot transfer credits to another, but must start in with the first year again, if he is still desirous of pursuing an education in the University. There will be no courses that he can transfer, for each college has its own curriculum complete. Thus, chemistry will be taught in the colleges of Medicine, Engineering, and Pedagogy, and differently in each; so too with other courses.

The same exclusive principle turns up within each college. Thus in the Instituto Pedagógico (Pedagogical Institute, of which, more, presently) one may choose from among the various fields, such as Spanish, French, English, German, History and Geography, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, each representing a subject that is taught in the secondary schools. If one chooses History and Geography, he will assuredly have no time for any of the others, and similarly if he selects another field. All, indeed, are required to attend courses in pedagogy proper and to serve as practice teachers in the *liceo* which adjoins the Instituto Pedagógico. Another curious factor is that each course runs through the entire length of a university student's career. In the History of America, for example, the professor reaches Magellan in the first year, deals with the conquest in the second, takes up colonial institutions in the third, and treats of the wars of inde-

pendence and the republican era in the fourth. It may be said further that the subjects taught in the Instituto Pedagógico are precisely the same as those of the *liceos* and that the teachers are licensed to give instruction only in the subject which they have studied in the University. In rare instances a student is able to pass in more than one field, in which case he receives a title in each. From the above it will appear that the *liceo* is the one school which makes a pretense at breadth of education.

Whatever one may think of the system as a whole, there is much to be said in commendation of the methods within courses. Classes are taught with an emphasis on sources and criticism that one rarely finds, short of the graduate seminar, in the United States. The above mentioned class in the History of America, taught at present by Luis Puga, a thorough-going scholar, may be taken for purposes of illustration. A single volume work by the great Chilean historian Barros Arana is used as a text. This is not paralleled or duplicated at all by Professor Puga. He devotes his time to a discussion of the sources and to lectures on disputed points, such for example as the birthplace of Columbus. Twice a year the students are required to write papers on assigned topics. These papers, in the opinion of the present writer, are superior to the average term paper of students in our own universities. More attention is paid in them to sources and proof, with an apparent use of criticism, and less weight is given to mere accumulation of incident. The standards of the teacher are high, to the point of severity. Last year, in a class of twenty, only ten passed.

The Chilean professors make use of the recitation, but not of the periodical examination. The decision as to whether a student passes or fails is left to a veritable inquisition (resembling our doctoral examination) at the end of the year. In this examination the other professors of the particular college also take part. It may be written or oral or both, but usually it is oral.

Of the four leading colleges, that of Law unquestionably has the poorest reputation. It is said to be the easiest of all, though the course lasts five years and few are able to finish. If the reports one hears are true, the purely legal courses are least thorough, while those in international law, economics, political science, and other subjects which are annexed to the curriculum of this college have a somewhat better standing. It is a fact, however, that many of the students in this college add courses in some other field, especially among those of the Instituto Pedagógico—or, rather, many in the latter also take law,

in order to procure a title in another profession, whereby they may supplement their scanty emolument as teachers. This very largely accounts for the heavy registration in the college of Law. At the present time there are about 700 enrolled. Less than ten per cent remain through the five years and win the title.

The college of Medicine has some 600 students of whom about twenty a year receive the title of doctor. The course lasts six years, and is expensive as well as difficult, wherefore many drop out of their own accord. The same thing may be said of the college of Engineering, which, however, does not at present bear a particularly good reputation. There are about 300 students in this college. The course is six years long.

Philosophy and the Humanities are represented by the Instituto Pedagógico, which is the nearest approach that the Chileans have to a College of Letters and Science in our sense of the term. It has by far the highest reputation of the various colleges of the University. According to one writer, "this establishment is a model school, a center of lofty culture which honors the country. The teachers who are prepared there are competent and hard-working, and they acquire an arsenal of information." Of the 700 enrolled in this college some 400 are girls.

Graduate work is no part of the program of the University of Chile. None of the higher degrees are awarded; the title "Doctor" is applied only to physicians.

It must be apparent that the source of inspiration for Chilean education has been Germany. Chilean students who have gone to Europe for graduate study have usually attended German universities, and Germans have been procured for some of the most important educational posts in Chile; indeed, men of other nationality could not be persuaded to leave their country for the small salaries offered, but the German left the homeland easily, and was willing to remain in Chile at a modest wage. Having no longstanding educational tradition such as existed in the United States, the Chileans quite naturally followed the system with which they were best acquainted, that of Germany.

That Chile is still in its educational infancy can be well appreciated when it is understood that in a population of some 4,000,000, about half—sixty per cent according to some accounts—can neither read nor write, despite the fact that for a generation the law has provided that education should be free and *obligatory*. One must not forget, however, that the advarces of recent years have been at a most gratifying

rate, and have been remarkable as concerns the education of women. In 1918, in some 3,000 primary schools there were 174,000 girls and 162,000 boys. Of the ninety *liceos*, some fifty were for girls. The girls numbered 13,000 and the boys 17,000. In various special schools—normal schools, industrial schools, etc.—there were more than 7,300 girls and less than 7,000 boys. In the University the exact figures were 941 young women and 3,287 men. Thirty years ago these figures would have been astounding. At the present rate of progress the Chileans may look ahead with assurance to the attainment of their educational aspirations in the not very distant future.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN, United States Exchange Professor to Chile.

MEXICO: A PICTURE FROM REAL LIFE

In August nineteen fifteen, the battleships Louisiana and New Hampshire were sent to Vera Cruz, as a precautionary measure in the face of certain anticipated or probable complications in the already unsettled condition of affairs in Mexico. I was serving on board the New Hampshire at the time. We remained there three or four weeks, during which time there was nothing in the way of military operations on our part. Our visit was to all intents and purposes the usual kind that men-o'-war make in the ports of friendly neutral powers, except that intercourse with the shore was under some restrictions on account of existing conditions. Enlisted men were not granted shore leave. Officers were permitted to go ashore only as a special privilege. They were expected to confine their movements to the city and its immediate environs, and not to approach the outposts surrounding the city. Under such circumstances it was not possible for me to get that more extended first-hand knowledge of Mexico and its people that I so much desired, but I made close observation and study of all that came within my reach. I was fortunately in possession of a familiarity with everyday Spanish. Without this master-key to the soul of the individual and the nation, those poor people that I met on the shore and in the huts on the outskirts of the city would have been no more to me than dumb animals.

My time on shore was spent in walking about the city, inspecting the shops and places of interest, doing a little shopping now and then, and in riding for an hour or so along the beaches and in the outskirts of the city, within permissible limits; usually in company with shipmates. In spite of the unsettled conditions and the interruption in the customary pursuits for the preceding four years or so, the markets were fairly well stocked with eatables. From the burning sands of Vera Cruz to the snow-capped peak of Orizaba, every range of climate came within our view. Fruits and vegetables of the temperate zone were found in the markets alongside the pineapple and other tropical fruit. Poultry was plentiful, good, and cheap. A turkey cost a dollar and a chicken twenty cents. Fish were as plentiful and as good as anywhere. The red snapper abounds, than which there is no better. With what we found on shore and what we had in the ship's stores, living was good, and mess-bills low.

The stores collected some revenue from the American visitors. Laces were favorite "bargains." The coveted and prohibited egrets were also bartered. Articles in leather were of excellent quality and workmanship. The Mexicans are great on fancy saddles and bridles. I am still wearing a pair of bed-room sandals, made to order with monogram on each, bought in Vera Cruz for one dollar. The white uniforms I got there have just lately gone to rags. Having drifted into personal affairs, I might just as well tell how I got my riding trousers. In English we say a pair of pants; in Spanish, they say, "un pantalon". One of my shipmates ordered "un par de pantalones." The order, being filled, gave him two pair of trousers, whereas he wanted only one "pair". I took the other. Nothing is left of them now but the buttons. The Mexican people are unusually good at feather work. Cards, suitable for the names of table guests and like purposes, are made with a miniature bird embossed in one corner with tiny feathers. Quantities of these were bought, being interesting curios, as well as useful.

Military contingents were quartered in different parts of the city. Now and then detachments were moved through the streets, and transported by train or steamer. The Mexican soldier is a familiar picture. It was not unusual to see very young boys in the ranks, some of them hardly big enough to carry a gun. There were, no doubt, many well-inclined people among the military element; but it was the best policy to avoid intercourse with them. It was from certain of this class that a friendly salutation might bring no more courteous response than a surly or contemptuous "Hello meestare." I did not come in contact with any of the higher military officials, but had some conversation with several of the company officers. They said it was

quite safe in the city, but it was best not to go beyond the line of outposts, as there was no telling when a party of bandits might be encountered.

Owing to the disorder in Mexico City, and the frequent raids of Zapata and other party leaders, a number of residents of the Capital sought safety in Vera Cruz. Our visit was not without social life. We enjoyed the company of people from shore, Americans and native residents; and they enjoyed our moving pictures, our music and dancing, and sugar-cured hams. Such names as Carlota, Carmen, and Madalena, became quite familiar to the young American officers. Thrilling accounts were given by some of the fair fugitives of their experiences in Mexico City during Zapata's raids. Of Americans there were quite a few, of different kinds. It was not hard to find amongst them those who had something to say about the others. Varied opinions were expressed by different ones about Mexico and its leading men, and about the United States and those who were doing things in the Great Republic to the north.

We got our horses from one Ramon Otero, who kept a large stable near the slaughter house. He was a genial and obliging Spaniard, who evidently went to some trouble to get the horses for us, as the government had commandeered all the good mounts. He was chary about having his horses seen around the army headquarters, as he might lose them with very little to show for them. His wife, "La Señora", was a woman of education and refinement,—relatively speaking. There are doubtless vicious people in Mexico; but the amiable disposition, the respectfulness, and deference to position shown by the kind-hearted fellows who brought the horses, and their appreciation of any little favor, went a long way toward softening the harsh accounts of bandit outrages.

In the vacant places in the city, families were living in temporary shelters made of boxes and pieces of corrugated iron. They were huddled together on the platforms of the railroad station and the warehouses. There they cooked their fish and beans in earthen pots over a few pieces of charcoal: there they slept; men, women, children, dogs, and goats. They were poor, but contented with their lot, and happy in finding even this way of existing out of danger of the roving bandits. I talked to these people, and to those I met on the shore, gathering and carrying bundles of firewood, driving their donkeys burdened with fodder or jugs and bottles, working on their boats, or mending their nets; and the family groups in or about the huts on the beach. In conversation and manner they were kind and hospitable. In return

for my salutations, I invariably received a look, and "Buenos dias, Señor", so full of spontaneous politeness, gentleness, kindness, and goodwill, that it was impossible to form an incorrect estimate of their character. Now and then would be seen the gay Mexican of the geography picture, with wide-brimmed felt hat, short jacket, red sash, and flaring bell-buttoned trousers; mounted on a spirited horse with saddle of ornamental trappings. I have seen nearly all the races of the world, but was never more impressed than with that type occasionally seen—the straight black hair, the wistful eyes, and a color in the cheek like the skin of a ripening peach.

In Vera Cruz, as in all Spanish-American cities, there is a cathedral facing the plaza or principal square. Here as elsewhere are seen the richly decorated altars and statues in contrast to the naked babies and poorly clad mothers in the doorways. The same incongruity of things is found in the store where the vilest literature ever printed is displayed along with the prayer-books, rosaries, and images of the saints. The full name of the city is, "Las tres veces Heroica Ciudad de Vera Cruz". It is not known that it has ever been attacked without being taken, yet it claims to have defended itself well enough on three different occasions to deserve this title, without which no official document is complete.

Riding one day along the shore a little beyond the slaughter house, I passed a dreamy-looking Mexican, and a little farther along came upon some verses written in the sand, which I did not stop to read, but I wish now that I had done so. Still farther on my way there was a line written in the same clear, even hand, which I did read. It was "Mexicanos, que pretenden hacer los Americanos"? Mexicans, what do the Americans pretend to be doing? I looked at the ships with their colors flying. I looked along the shore and over the city. I asked myself the same question, and left it to somebody else to write the answer.

In conclusion may I be permitted to say that, in my opinion, it is unjust to judge Mexico as a whole by the character and conduct of particular elements—the ambitious and unscrupulous in the master class, those who actually prefer warfare for its own sake to a condition of peace, and the lawless bandit gangs. In my belief, a large part of the people of Mexico are as free from harm to their fellow beings as the sheep on the plains; and as worthy of the love and sympathy, as deserving of the protection and help of the people of the United States as are the inhabitants of any other country in the world today.

GILBERT P. CHASE.

New Orleans, August 23, 1919.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

To the World Peace Conference at Paris Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, ex-President of the Republic of Honduras and its delegate to that conference, submitted a statement regarding the Monroe Doctrine with a proposal that a definite and final interpretation of the doctrine be agreed upon. This communication was dated April 22, 1919, and may be translated as follows:

In this covenant [of the League of Nations] all peoples represented in this Conference are directly interested; the smaller nations, like that which I represent, more if possible than the greater ones. Its bases, as expressed by the Commission, are not known; but the public press has asserted that amendments have been proposed: among these a proposal by the delegation of North America, to declare that "the pact does not affect the validity of other international conventions, such as the arbitration treaties or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, to assure the maintenance of the peace."

The Monroe Doctrine affects the Latin American republics directly. As it has never been written into an international document, nor been expressly accepted by the nations of the Old Continent, nor of the New World; and as it has been defined and applied in different manners by presidents and other statesmen of the United States of America, I believe that it is necessary that in the pact about to be subscribed it should be defined with entire clearness, in such way that it may be incorporated in the written international law.

The North American delegation is presided over by the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and it is certain that if the Monroe Doctrine was not defined the delegation had in mind the definition or interpretation that Mr. Wilson, as President of the United States, has given to it in his various addresses from that which he voiced at Mobile in 1913 to the last in the current year.

In these he declared that this Doctrine is not a menace, but is a guaranty for the feeblest of the nations of America; and he repudiated expressly the interpretations that had been made to signify that the United States had a right to exercise a kind of tutelage over the other republics of America.

Especially in his discourse with the Mexican journalists on June 7th, 1919, he declared that the guaranty that this Doctrine implied in favor of the feeble countries is not with relation to the powers of the Old World only, but relates to the United States also; and he spoke of the celebration of a Pan American pact that might be realized and might include this point. Such declarations have made President Wilson the best of the exponents of the ideals of the peoples of Latin America.

All these facts induce me to present the accompanying proposition, which I hope will merit a favorable reception by the delegation of the United States, and will be supported by the Latin American republics, which with it will pay their tribute of admiration and respect to the First Magistrate of the North American republic, that has given such proofs of its love of justice.

If the American amendment to which I referred is phrased in the terms published, or in others like them, the pact of the League of Nations will be no ob-

stacle to a union or confederation of other form, by the peoples of Latin America, that will tend to a realization of the dream of the immortal Bolívar.

I wish to make a final declaration: When I shall subscribe, in the name of Honduras, the pact that is projected, I make beforehand the express reservation for my country of the right that is given by its constitution of uniting with one or more of the nations of the Central American Isthmus, with the purpose of reconstituting what was once the Republic of Central America; and I make this express reserve because this union would constitute the most beautiful ideal of the patriotism in that region, and no doubt should be left about the right to its realization.

The clause which Dr. Bonilla offered as an addition to the proposed compact of the League of Nations may be translated as follows:

This Doctrine, that the United States of America have maintained since the year 1823, when it was proclaimed by President Monroe, signifies that: All the republics of America have a right to independent existence; that no nation may acquire by conquest any part of the territory of any of these nations, nor interfere with its internal government or administration, nor do any other act to impair its autonomy or to wound its national dignity. It is not to hinder the "Latin" American countries from confederating or in other forms uniting themselves, seeking the best way to realize their destiny.

The foregoing was dated April 22, 1919. Early in 1920 the republic of Salvador asked the U. S. Department of State for a formal definition of that Doctrine, that the government of that country might know exactly the conditions to which it would consent, if it should subscribe to the convention or agreement on which the League of Nations is based.

EDWARD PERRY.

The New York Sun of March 29, published an editorial entitled "'Hispanic' versus 'Latin' America," in which the writer, after speaking of the movement to encourage the use of the term "Hispanic America" in place of "Latin America", and noting that, with the exception of Haiti, the term is correct, concludes that Hispanic American countries should be spoken of specifically by name, rather than under a general term, such as "South American", Latin American", or "Hispanic American". The editorial cities especially the Hispanic Society of America and The Hispanic American Historical Review as standing for the employment of the term "Hispanic America", which they use to cover all the countries south of the United States—Brazil, as well as all others. The use of "Hispanic", the author notes,

is increasing, although "Ibero" is just as correct and is not open to the same objections so far as the Brazilians are concerned. The latter term, he notes, does not include Haiti, either. "Hispanic" is of course taken from the old Roman name for the Iberian Peninsula, "Hispania", and with the exception of Haiti is correct. Let it be granted that "Hispanic" and "Ibero" are technically correct. The first is euphonious, the second is not. The first is, in fact, as euphonious as the word "Latin", and has the advantage of being accurate (with the exception of Haiti), while "Latin" is not so. Consequently, why not use the more correct term? Every student of Hispanic America will be thoroughly in accord with the editorial suggestion that the individual names of the Hispanic countries be used whenever possible. However, it is impossible not to speak of these republics under the general designation at times, and it is just as easy to use the term "Hispanic" as "Latin".

Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento, of Buenos Aires, who organized the Congress of Bibliography and History which met in Buenos Aires in 1916. and at which Professors Charles E. Chapman and William Spence Robertson were the only delegates from the United States, announces that his proposal for the foundation of an American Academy of History has been realized. The organization meeting of the body was held at Buenos Aires, October 11, 1919, and the "Estatatos" have been published. The organization meeting was attended by the ambassador of the United States and ministers of other American countries. Dr. Chapman is a charter member of the Academy, and as he could not be at the organization meeting, an alternate, Dr. Gase, was appointed by Dr. Sarmiento. Dr. Gase addressed the meeting in which he eulogized historical study in the United States. The Academy should be supported by all historical and similar organizations in the United States, as well as by all persons interested in the history of Hispanic America. Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento, whose address is Montevideo 21, Buenos Aires, Argentina, desires to correspond with all who are interested in this movement. This Academy ought to be very influential in the cultivation of intellectual bonds between the Hispanic American countries and the United States.

El Comercio, of Lima, Peru, in its issue of April 17, 1920, states that the Board of the University of San Marcos has resolved to entrust Doctor Belaunde with an important mission of intellectual union with

the Universities of North America. Dr. Belaunde, who is well known in the United States, will deliver lectures on the following subjects in universities and Hispanic centers in the United States:

1. The new criterion regarding the communism of the Inca race and

its transcendency in the present structure of Peru.

- 2. Colonial civilization.
- 3. Political evolution in the Republic.
- 4. The characteristics of economic life in Peru.
- 5. The economic future of the country and the uses of American capital.
 - 6. Main aspects of the intellectual evolution of Peru.
 - 7. The three periods of the history of the University of Lima.
 - 8. Peru and International Arbitration.
 - 9. The question of the Pacific (the causes of the war).
 - 10. The question of the Pacific (the violation of the Treaty of Ancon).

A Summer School of Pan American and Foreign Commerce was formally inaugurated on July 19, at the Pan American Union. At this meeting, over which Mr. John Barrett, Director General of the Pan American Union presided, addresses were made by Dr. R. S. MacElwee, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Sr. D. J. Antonio López Gutiérrez, Minister of Honduras, Sr. D. J. E. Lefevre, Chargé d'Affaires of Panama, Admiral W. S. Benson, of the United States Shipping Board, and Mr. Clarence J. Owens, Director General of the Southern Commercial Congress. It should be noted that this is the first summer school of this nature ever instituted in the United States or probably in any other country. Intensive work is being done so that the field of foreign commerce may be covered as fully as possible—the school has been called the first Plattsburg training camp for foreign commerce. About fifty students. representing a wide field enrolled for the course. Dr. R. S. MacElwee is acting as dean and Dr. Julius Klein, Commercial Attaché for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Buenos Aires, who has just returned from Argentina, is one of the lecturers. If the experiment works well this year, it is probable that the school will become a permanent institution and be held each summer. It is very largely concerned with Hispanic America. It is suggested that historical students would find this a very valuable addition to their studies.

HISPANIC AMERICA IN THE MADRID PRESS

The press of Madrid, which until recently has regarded trans-Atlantic affairs with a certain amount of polite indifference has in recent months evinced a growing interest in Hispanic America. From its first appearance El Sol has dedicated a section to this subject under the rubric first of "America Latina" and later "Iberoamerica." This change was probably due to the opposition of the well-known Spanish philologist Ramon Menéndez Pidal to the term "América Latina." It is to be noted, however, that Menéndez Pidal advocated the use of "Hispanoamericana" rather than the somewhat unhappy neologism "Iberoamericana." This section in El Sol is in charge of the Peruvian publicist Sr. D. Manuel A. Bedova. Somewhat later El Figaro, under the name of "Las Rutas de America" began to devote a section to Hispanic American topics under the charge of the distinguished historian Dr. Rafael Altamira. Finally the weekly periodical El España opened a "Crónica Americana" beginning with February, 1919. This section, in which the affairs of the New World are handled with great frankness is assumed to be under the charge of the well known publicist Sr. D. Manuel Pedroso.—Percy Alvin Martin.

The Maryland State Teachers' Association held its annual conference this year at Ocean City, Maryland. The departmental meeting on history, held on the morning of Wednesday, June 30, was devoted entirely to Hispanic American history. Dr. Dana G. Munro, of the Department of State read a paper on "Pan-Americanism", and Dr. Mary W. Williams of Goucher College, one on "Introducing our Latin-American Neighbors by means of the Classroom". In her paper, Professor Williams included both high and grade schools.

Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, of San Francisco, sailed recently for an extended stay in Spain. While there, he will visit various cities, for the purpose of making investigations in archives and libraries.

Dr. Manoel Oliveira Lima, who had expected to sail for the United States some time ago, in order to assume his new post at the Catholic University of America, has been unable to leave Brazil, but hopes to sail within a short time.

A new Biblioteca Nacional building is being erected in Santiago, Chile, which will have a capacity of 2,000,000 volumes. Next to the library will stand a National Archives building—a necessity among civilized nations that the United States still lacks. Two of the important rooms of the Library are named for historians—Barros Arana and Medina.

Professor Joaquín García Monge, the well known historical student of San José, Costa Rica, is not only the Secretary of Public Instruction of Costa Rica, but editor of the excellent Review Reportorio Americano. Dr. García Monge has expressed a desire to enter into relations with students of Hispanic American history in the United States.

Professor Raúl Ramírez, of the English department of the University of Chile, who has been chosen by the Chilean government as exchange professor to the University of California, has arrived and taken up his duties. Professor Ramírez is a master of English, and has entered enthusiastically upon his work in California.

Sr. D. Ramón Laval, who is assistant chief at the Biblioteca Nacional of Santiago, Chile, is also editor of Revista Chilena de Historia.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett has been appointed adjunct professor of Hispanic American History in the University of Texas. He succeeds Dr. W. E. Dunn, who resigned recently to become editor of the Hispanic American section of the New York Sun.

Dr. Dunn, while still holding his connection with the staff of the Sun has lately joined the staff of Simmons and Co., a hardware concern, with main offices in St. Louis and foreign export department in New York. In the absence of the manager of the above department on a foreign trip, Dr. Dunn is acting manager of the export department.

Rev. John F. O'Hara, S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, is spending several months in South America. He spent a few days recently in Santiago, Chile.

Dr. N. A. N. Cleven, University of Arkansas, reports that whereas he had expected an enrollment of some fifteen or twenty students in the course on Hispanic American history which he offered at the University in 1919, he had over fifty. This necessitated a division of the class and double work, but the enthusiasm of the classes was worth the extra time.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., is teaching at the University of Vermont Summer School this season.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES PREFATORY NOTE

In the present tentative list are included (1) bibliographies, (2) collective biographies, (3) histories of literature, and (4) some general and miscellaneous works found of frequent use for reference purposes, encyclopedias, anuarios, almanaques, and others of similar character. They are, in large part, works which the compiler has found of use in bibliographical and historical research relating to Hispanic America. Some titles are included, however, of works he has not been able to see, and a few are cited because of their rarity or historical interest.

It is the compiler's intention to publish as a second part a more comprehensive and intensive discussion of the material listed and to attempt to express therein a critical evaluation of the most important titles.

The problem of what to exclude has been a perplexing one. In fact, the compiler must deprecate any assumption that he has consistently followed any logical principle. This list has been developed from titles noted for his own use and thus it is practical in character. It is almost inevitable in such a compilation that some titles have been omitted through oversight or ignorance. This may be true of works of formal bibliographical or biographical character. Others may have been omitted by design, especially those of general character, the exclusion or inclusion of which could only be determined by individual experience and judgment.

It has been the compiler's intention to include of these general works only those that relate more specifically to Hispanic-America and are most important to the bibliographer. In accord with this principle, general bibliographies such as Brunet's Manuel du Libraire, and catalogues of comprehensive general collections such as those of the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale have been excluded. Their value for reference purposes is obvious even to the neophyte.

Of the special bibliographies in monographs on historical or other subjects the compiler has tried to note the more important, such as the valuable critical notes on sources in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Bancroft's histories of Mexico and Central America, Bourne's Spain in America, Filsinger's Exporting to Latin America, William Spence Robertson's Francisco de Miranda, and others. Special lists of this character are of great value when they represent the working material of trained and scholarly investigators. Many such lists, however, of smaller scope or substantive importance and with few bibliographical data are intentionally omitted, e.g., in W. H. Koebel's British Exploits in South America, William Robertson's History of the Discovery and Settlement of America, A. Hrdlicka's Early Man in South America, and others.

The national bibliographies of Spain and Portugal are of obvious value as sources of information for Hispanic American books of the colonial period owing to the fact that the discovery, conquest, and colonial organization and administration were effected by Spaniards and Portuguese. The records of such activities are naturally to be found in the output of the Peninsular presses. In reference more particularly to Spanish America, it may be said that the restrictions and prohibitions imposed upon colonial publishers, as expressed in the Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias—especially the requirement that manuscripts treating American questions should be submitted to the Consejo de Indias for approval—strongly favored publication in the mother country. The effects of this policy on the intellectual life and activities of the colonies may be conveniently studied in Medina¹ and Quesada.²

These bibliographies and biographical sources of greater importance and of more general or substantive character have been included in the present list but those relating to special cities or regions have been omitted. It may not be amiss, however, to note here the more important of these, calling attention to the fact that the bibliographies and biographies of Seville and Madrid possess a special value owing to the important relations of these cities to the colonial administration: Escudero y Perosso, Tipografia Hispalense, Madrid, 1894; Matute y Gaviria, Hijos de Sevilla, Sevilla, 1886–89; Díaz de Valderrama, Hijos de Sevilla [Sevilla], 1791; Peréz Pastor, Bibliografia Madrileña, Madrid, 1891–1907; Alvarez de Baena, Hijos de Madrid, Madrid, 1789–

¹ Biblioteca Hispano-Americana, Santiago de Chile, 1898-1907. VI. pp. ix-xlvii.)

² La Vida Intelectual en la América Española durante los Siglos 16-18, Buenos Aires. 1917.

91; Rada y Delgado, Bibliografía Numismática Española, Madrid, 1886; Sempere y Guarinos, Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de los mejores Escritores del Reinado de Carlos III, Madrid, 1785-89; Rodríguez, Biblioteca Valentina, Valencia, 1747; Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, Valencia, 1747-49; Fuster, Biblioteca Valenciana, Valencia, 1827-30: Latassa, Bibliotecas Antiqua y Nueva de Escritores Aragoneses, Zaragoza, 1884-86; Barrantes, Catálogo . . . de los Libros . . . que tratan de . . . Extremadura, Madrid, 1863, and Aparato Bibliográfico para la Historia de Extremadura, Madrid, 1875-77; Allende Salazar, Biblioteca del Bascófilo, Madrid, 1887; Martínez Añíbarro, Intento de un Diccionario Biográfico y Bibliográfico de la provincia de Burgos, Madrid, 1890; Fernandez Duro, Colección Bibliográfico-biográfica de la Provincia de Zamora, Madrid, 1891; Pérez Pastor, Imprenta en Toledo, Madrid, 1887, and Imprenta en Medina del Campo, Madrid, 1895; Catalina García, Ensayo de una Tipografía Complutense, Madrid, 1889, and Biblioteca de Escritores de la Provincia de Guadalajara, Madrid, 1899; Valdenebro y Cisneros, Imprenta en Córdoba, Madrid, 1900; Sánchez, Bibliografía Aragonesa del Siglo XVI. Madrid, 1913-14.

The importance of the religious orders as colonizing agencies makes the records of their activities an invaluable source of information for the bibliography and biography of the early period. This material is extensive but an effort has been made to include the most important titles, general and local, early and recent. Such works as Backer-Sommervogel, Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, Uriarte, Catálogo Razonado de Obras Anónimas y Seudónimos de Autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia Española, Santiago Vela, Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín, and Quétif, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum are of course quite indispensable. In this connection, as well as for the general bibliography of Hispanic America, the excellent article on Bibliografía in the Enciclopedia Universal Europeo-Americana should be consulted.

It is hardly necessary to say that the scholarly series of bibliographies by the distinguished Chilean literato, José Toribio Medina, covers the colonial period most thoroughly, embracing both books from the colonial presses and those published in Europe by American authors or relating to America. So exhaustive are the bibliographical and biographical data furnished by Señor Medina that further research will often be unnecessary. The chapter on Spanish-American bio-biblio-

graphical sources in his Biblioteca Hispano-Americana³ and the critical introductions to his special bibliographies of Mexico, Lima, Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, etc. are indispensable for an evaluation of such material.⁴

Regarding the Hispanic-American republics, the compiler has cited all the material he has found of special value, including important catalogues and bulletins of dealers and publishers and reviews giving useful bibliographical data. Probably the most useful general repertory is the Catálogo Metódico de la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires. For Brazil the Catalogo da Exposição de Historia do Brazil realizada pela Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro is indispensable. For current publications the Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera, the Boletin Bibliographico da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, and the Boletin Bibliográfico del Museo Social Argentino should be consulted as well as dealers' and publishers' bulletins.

Material relating to the Monroe doctrine has been omitted on account of its special character.

Ramón A. Laval's Bibliografía de Bibliografías Chilenas, Santiago de Chile, 1915, Narciso Binayán's Bibliografía de Bibliografías Argentinas, Buenos Aires, 1919, and Carlos M. Trelles Bibliografía de Bibliografías Cubanas⁵ cover their respective fields exhaustively and should be examined for titles of personal and other bibliographies of less general interest that have not been included in the present list. Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Señores Laval, Binayán, and Trelles for material of which the present compiler was ignorant.

In addition, as many Spanish-American authors publish their works in Spain or France the *Bibliografia Española* and *Bibliographie de la France* should be carefully scrutinized for current publications.

In regard to arrangement, catalogues of national libraries and other institutions have been placed in the proper country division rather than in the section of general works.

For helpful information, the compiler is indebted to Señores Carlos Silva Cruz, Director of the National Library of Chile, Emilio Vaïsse, Director of the Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera, Luis R. Fors, Nicolás León, of the National Museum of Mexico, Luis M. Pérez, Librarian of the House of Representatives of Cuba, Manuel

³ VI, CXI-CXXX.

⁴ Cf. note to no. 109 in the following list.

⁵ Bibl. Cubana del Siglo XIX, I, 287-292.

Segundo Sánchez, Director of the National Library of Venezuela, and Eduardo Posada and Roberto Cortázar of Bogotá.

To the suggestion of Dr. James A. Robertson, the managing editor of this review, is due the publication of this list.

The printed cards of the Library of Congress have been freely used for entries but the titles have been shortened. Some of the bibliographical information has been reproduced therefrom.

In conclusion the compiler wishes to repeat that the present list is tentative, and he will be grateful for information and suggestions regarding other titles that should be included.

C. K. Jones.

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GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

1. R. Academia de la historia, Madrid. Bibliografía Colombina. Enumeración de libros y documentos concernientes á Cristobal Colón y sus viajes; obra que publica la Real academia de la historia por encargo de la Junta directiva del cuarto centenario del descubrimiento de América. Madrid, Est. tip. de Fortanet, 1892.

x, 680 p., 31. 28 cm.

By E. Saavedra, Juan de la Rada y Delgado, M. Menéndes y Pelayo, A. M. Fabié, and C. Fernández Duro.

For criticism and additions see H. Harrisse, Christophe Colomb et les académiciens espagnols. (In Zentralblatt für bibliothekswesen, 1894, 11: 1-70.)

- 1a. Alcedo, Antonio. Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias Occidentales o América: es a saber: de los reynos del Perú, Nueva España, Tierra Firme, Chile y Nuevo Reyno de Granada. Madrid, Impr. de B. Cano, 1786-89.
 5 v. 22 cm.
- 1b. The geographical and historical dictionary of América and the West Indies. Containing an entire translation of the Spanish work ... with large additions and compilations ... by G. A. Thompson. London, J. Carpenter; [etc., etc.] 1812-15.

5 v. 28 x 22 cm.

- Almirante, José. Bibliografía militar de España. Madrid, M. Tello, 1876.
 p. l., cxxx p., 1 l., 988 p. 28 cm.
 p. l., 1534 col.
- Alva y Astorga, Pedro de. Militia immaculatae conceptionis Virginis Mariae contra malitiam originalis infectionis peccati. In qua ordine alphabetico recensentur auctores antiqui & moderni. Lovanii, typographia Immaculatae conceptionis, 1663.

More than 5000 authors mentioned. Medina, Bib. hisp.-am. 1357.

 Andrés de San Nicolás. Historia general biográfica y bibliográfica de los religiosos descalzos de San Agustin de la Congregación de España e Indias. Madrid, 1879.

Cited in Enciclopedia universal. v. 8, p. 622.

4. Antón Ramírez, Braulio. Diccionario de bibliografía agronómica y de toda clase de escritos relacionados con la agricultura, seguido de un índice de autores y traductores, con algunos apuntes biográficos. Madrid, M. Rivadeneyra, 1865.

xix, 1015 p., 1 l. 274 cm.

5. Antonio, Nicolás. Bibliotheca hispana sive Hispanorvm, qvi vsqvam vn-qvamve sive latinâ sive populari sive aliâ quâvis linguâ scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia, his qvæ præcesservnt locvpletior et certior brevia elogia, editorum atque ineditorum operum catalogum dvabvs partibvs continens, qvarvm haec ordine qvidem rei posterior, conceptu verò prior duobus tomis de his agit, qvi post annvm secvlarem mp. usque ad præsentem diem floruere. Tomus 1-[2]. Romæ, ex officina N. A. Tinassii, 1672.

First edition of the part published in the new ed., 1788, under the title Bibliotheca hispana nova.

The first ed. of the other part, "Bibliotheca hispana vetus," was not pub. till 1896.

6. Antonio, Nicolás. Bibliotheca hispana nova; sive, Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. floruere notitia. . . . nunc primum prodit, recognita emendata aucta ab ipso auctore. [Tomus 1.-2.] Matriti, J. de Ibarra, 1788.

2 v. 36 cm.

T.-p. of t. 1 is erroneously dated 1783.

The 2d ed., edited by T. A. Sánchez, J. A. Pellicer, and R. Casalbón.

Antonio, Nicolás. Bibliotheca hispana vetus, sive, Hispani scriptores qui ab Octaviani Augusti zvo ad annum Christi M. D. floruerunt. Auctore D. Nicolao Antonio Hispalensi. . . . Curante Francisco Perezio Bayerio . . . qui et prologum, & auctoris vitz epitomen, & notulas adiecit. Tomus 1.-[2]. Matriti, apud viduam et heredes D. J. Ibarrz, 1788.

2 v. front., port., initials. 36 cm. The 2d edition.

8. Anuario de la América latina (Bailley-Baillière-Riera) Información general del comercio de importación y exportación, industria, agricultura, ganadería, minería, y elemento oficial de las Américas ... año 2. Barcelona (España) Sociedad anónima "Anuarios Bailly-Baillière y Riera reunidos," 1914.

1 v. maps. 29 cm.

- Anuario de la librería española, portuguesa é hispano-americana. 1912-. Madrid, A. Romo [1912]-.
- 10. Anuario del comercio, de la industria, de la magistratura y de la administración de España, sus colonias, Cuba, Puerto-Rico y Filipinas, estados hispano-americanos y Portugal. (Bailly-Bailliere) año xxxi. Madrid, Bailly-Bailliere e hijos, 1909.

1 v. maps. 28 cm.

- Archivo bibliográfico hispano-americano lo publica la Librería general de Victoriano Suárez. t. 1-, enero 1909-. Madrid, V. Suárez, 1909-Includes "Notas bibliográficas."
- Astrain, Antonio. Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España. Madrid. Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1902-

5 v. 24½ cm. In publication, 1-5, 1902-16?

 Azpurúa, Ramón. Biografias de hombres notables de Hispano-América, Caracas, Imprenta nacional, 1877.

4 v. front. (port.) 23 cm.

- Babcock, Charles E. The libraries of Latin America, compiled by the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C., Chas. E. Babcock, librarian. (In American library annual, 1917–1918. New York, 1918.)
 (264 cm. p. [253]-263.)
- 15. Backer, Augustin de. Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou, Notices bibliographiques: 1° de tous les ouvrages publiés par les membres de la Compagnie de Jésus, depuis la fondation de l'ordre jusqu'à nos jours; 2° des apologies, des controverses religieuses, des critiques littéraires et scientifiques suscitées à leur sujet. Par Augustin et Alois de Backer. 1.-[7.] sér. Liége, L. Grandmont-Donders, 1853-61.
 7 v. 27½ cm.
- 16. Backer, Augustin de. Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. 1. ptie.: Bibliographie par les pères Augustin et Aloys de Backer. 2. ptie.: Histoire par le père Auguste Carayon. Nouv. éd. par Carlos Sommervogelpub. par la Province de Belgique. Bruxelles, O. Schepens; Paris, A. Picard, 1890-1909.

10 v. 321 x 241 cm.

CONTENTS.—I. ptie. Bibliographie: t. I-VII. A-Thon.—t. VIII. Thor-Z. Supplément: A-Casale.—t. IX. Supplément: Casali-Z. Anonymes, pseudonymes. Index géographique des aueturs et des domiciles.—t. X. Tables de la première partie, par P. Bliard. 1909.

- 17. —— Rivière, Ernest M. Corrections et additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Supplément au "De Backer-Sommervogel." Toulouse, L'auteur, 1911-17.
 - pts. 1-4. 31} cm.
- Bard, Henry Erwin. South America; brief outline of study suggestions, with bibliography. Boston, New York [etc.] D. C. Heath & company, 1916.

68 p. 19 cm. Bibliography: p. 27-68.

18a. Barlow, Samuel Latham Mitchill. Catalogue of the American library of the late S. L. M. Barlow, prepared by James Osborne Wright. New York, 1889. 3 p. l., [iii]-xv, [1], [3]-450, 17 p. 25 cm.
List of prices. 17 p. 19. Barros Arana, Diego. Obras completas... Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Cervantes, 1908-14.

15 v. port. 26½ cm.

"Estudios histórico-bibliográficos": v. 6, 8-11.

20. — La lingüística americana, su historia i su estado actual, por Diego Barros Arana i Rodolfo Lenz. . . . Santiago de Chile, Impr. Cervantes, 1893.

49 p. 244 cm.

"Publicado en los 'Anales de la Universidad."

21. — Notas para una bibliografía de obras anónimas i seudónimas sobre la historia, la jeografía i la literatura de América. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta nacional, 1882.

171 p. 26 cm.

22. Beéche, Gregorio Miguel Pascual de. Bibliografía americana. Estudios i catálogo completo i razonado de la biblioteca americana coleccionada por el Sr. Gregorio Beéche (cónsul jeneral de la República Arjentina en Chile) por B. Vicuña Mackenna. Valparaiso, Impr. del Mercurio, 1879.

xxvii p., 1 l., 802 p. port. 24 cm.

23. Bibliographie hispanique. 1905-15. New York, The Hispanic society of America [1909-15].

11 v. 19 cm.

Comp. by Foulché-Delbosc.

"La ... bibliographie est consacrée aux langues, aux littératures et à l'histoire des pays castillans, catalans et portugais, en Europe et hors d'Europe ... Non seulement les livres et brochures, mais aussi les articles de revues ont été répertoriés."

24. Bibliotheca americana; or, A chronological catalogue of the most curious and interesting books, pamphlets, state papers, &c. upon the subject of North and South America, from the earliest period to the present, in print and manuscript; for which research has been made in the British musæum, and the most celebrated public and private libraries, reviews, catalogues, &c. London, Printed for J. Debrett, J. Sewell, R. Baldwin and J. Bew; and E. Harlowe. 1789.

2 p. l., 271 p. 261 x 21 cm.

Attributed to Arthur Homer, to a "Mr. Reid, American, resident in London," to J. Debrett, the publisher of the work, and to Alexander Dalrymple.

"A worthless compilation."-Harrisse, B. A. V.

25. Bingham, Hiram. The possibilities of South American history and politics as a field for research. (In Monthly bulletin of the International bureau of the American republics. Washington, 1908.)

23½ cm. v. 26. p. 283-300.

Valuable bibliographical foot-notes.

 Blanco García, Francisco. La literatura española en el siglo xix. 2. ed. Madrid, Sáenz de Jubera hermanos, 1894-1903.

3 v. 224 cm.

La literatura hispano-americana: pt. 3.

27. Boletin de la biblioteca "América" de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela (España) n. r- Feb. 1910-. Buenos Aires, 1910-.

Pub. by G. Busto as a record of donations from the Spanish-American republics received by him for the Biblioteca América.

28. Borchard, Edwin Montefiore. ... Guide to the law and legal literature of Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Washington, Gov't print. off., 1917.

523 p. 26½ cm.

At head of title Library of Congress.

Reviewed by E. S. Zeballos, with bibliographical additions, in Revista de derecho, historia y letras, Jan. 1919, p. 137-141; special reference is made to the bibliographies in Bulletin argentin de droit international privé, Buenos Aires, 1903-.

29. Boucher de La Richarderie, Gilles. Bibliothèque universelle des voyages. Paris [etc.] Treuttel et Würtz, 1808.

6 v. 19 cm. Part 5 is devoted to America.

29a. Bourne, Edward Gaylord. Spain in America, 1450-1580. New York and London, Harper and brothers, 1904.

xx, 350 p. incl. front. (port.) maps. 21½ cm. (The American nation, v. 3.) "Critical essay on authorities": p. 320-337.

29b. Brinton, Daniel Garrison. The American race: a linguistic classification and ethnographic description of the native tribes of North and South America. Philadelphia, D. McKay, 1901.

2 p. l., ix-xvi, 17-392 p. 20½ cm.

Previously published in 1891. Valuable bibliographic footnotes.

30. Brown, John Carter. Bibliographical notices of rare and curious books relating to America... in the library of the late John Carter Brown... by John Russell Bartlett. Providence, Printed for private distribution [by H. O. Houghton and company, Cambridge] 1875-82.

2 v. illus., pl., ports., maps, facsims. $27\frac{1}{4}-30$ cm. Enlarged and illustrated edition of pt. 1-2 of no. 31.

Full titles, annotated; arranged chronologically; alphabetical index in each part.

31. ——— Bibliotheca americana. A catalogue of books relating to North and South America in the library of John Carter Brown. With notes by John Russell Bartlett. Providence [Cambridge printed] 1865-71.

3 pt. in 4 v. 27 cm.

32. ——— Bibliotheca americana. A catalogue of books relating to North and South America in the library of the late John Carter Brown. With notes by John Russell Bartlett. Providence [Printed by H. O. Houghton and company, Cambridge] 1875–82.

2 v. illus., pl., port., facsims. 271 cm.

Second edition of part I-II (first published 1865-66), enlarged.

33. —— Bibliotheca americana; catalogue of the John Carter Brown library in Brown University. Providence. Printed by the Library, 1919.

v. 1. 27 cm.

34. Caballero, Raimundo Diosdado. Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu supplementum primum [et alterum] Romae, 1814–16.

2 v.

"A estudiar la vida y obras de esos Jesuítas expulsados de España y América y que se establecieron en Italia están destinados los dos suplementos."

Medina, Bib.-hisp. am. v. 6, p. exxvii.

35. Carayon, Auguste. Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus; ou, Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'histoire des jésuites, depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours. Paris, A. Durand [etc.] 1864.

viii, 612 p. 27 x 21½ cm.

Pt. III, chap. 4 deals with missions in America, citing briefly some 200 titles.

36. Cejador y Frauca, Julio. Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana ... comprendidos los autores hispano-americanos. Madrid, Tip. de la Rev. de arch., bibl. y museos, 1915-19.

11 v. ports. 241 cm.

An exceedingly useful work, giving much bio-bibliographical information about recent and contemporary Spanish-American authors.

- 37. Chadenat, C. Bibliophile americain: catalogue de livres, cartes & documents relatifs a l'Europe, Asie, Afrique, Amérique, Océanie. Bulletin trimestriel. Paris, C. Chadenat, 1889-.
- 38. Church, Elihu Dwight. A catalogue of books relating to the discovery and early history of North and South America forming a part of the library of E. D. Church. Compiled and annotated by George Watson Cole. New York, Dodd, Mead and co. [Cambridge, University press] 1907.
 5 v. facsims. (partly col.) 29 cm.
- Cibdad y Sobrón, Félix. Los idiomas de la América latina; estudios biográfico-bibliográficos.
 Madrid, Impr. á cargo de V. Saiz [1876].
- 40. La Ciudad de Dios; revista quincenal religiosa, científica y literaria dedicada al gran padre San Agustín, publicada por los PP. Agustinos de el Escorial. v. 1-13, enero 1881-junio 1887; 2, época, v. 14-20, julio 1887-dic. 1889; 3. época, v. 21-, enero 1890-. Valladolid, Colegio de Agustinos filipinos, 1882-89; Madrid, Real monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, 1890-.

Title varies: 1881-June 1887, Revista agustiniana; July 1887-, La Ciudad de Dios. Includes Catálogo de escritores agustinos españoles, portugueses y americanos, por el P. Bonifacio Moral.

41. Coester, Alfred Lester. A bibliography of Spanish-American literature.
... [New York, Columbia university press, 1912].

Cover-title, [1], 68-101 p. 251 cm.

Reprinted from the Romanic review, vol. III, no. 1.

42. ——— The literary history of Spanish America. New York, The Macmillan company, 1916.

xii p., 2 l., 495 p. 20½ cm. Bibliography: p. 477-482.

43. Colombina Biblioteca, Seville. Catálogo de sus libros impresos, publicado ... bajo la inmediata dirección de su bibliotecario ..., con notas bibliográficas del doctor Simón de la Rosa y López. Sevilla, 1888-[1916?].

v. 1-5. 23 cm.

(Vol. 1-4, A-L, v. 5, not seen.)

44. Cortés, José Domingo. América poética. Poesías selectas americanas, con noticias biográficas de los autores. Paris, A. Bouret e hijo, 1875.

- Diccionario biográfico americano. Este volúmen contiene los 45. nombres, con los datos biográficos i enumeracion de las obras de todas las personas que se han ilustrado en las letras, las armas, las ciencias, las artes, en el continente americano. Paris, Tip. Lahure, 1875.

xii, 552 p. front. (port.) 263 cm.

45a. Deutsch-südamerikanisches und iberisches institut in Cöln. Mitteilungen. Stuttgart und Berlin, Verlag der Deutschen verlags-anstalt, 1913-.

Contains useful book reviews and lists of current publications, as well as other bibliographical

46. Diccionario biográfico de contemporáneos sudamericanos. A-E. Buenos Aires, 1898.

2 v. No more published.

Salas, Bibl, del San Martin, v. 2, p. 86.

47. Diccionario enciclopedico hispano-americano de literatura, ciencias y artes. Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, 1887-98.

23 v. in 24. illus., plates, plans, maps, facsims., diagrs. 32 cm.

- Apéndice. Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, 1898-99.

2 v. illus., maps, diagrs. 32 cm.

- Apéndice segundo, redactado por distinguidos profesores y publicistas de España y América, bajo la dirección de Pelayo Vizuete. Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, 1907-10.

3 v. illus., plates, plan, maps, diagrs. 32 cm.

48. Diccionario Salvat; enciclopédico popular ilustrado ... comprende, además de todos los vocablos que se hallan en la última edición del Diccionario de la Real academia española, las voces técnicas de ciencias, artes y oficios; las más corrientes en los paises de América y las extranjeras adoptadas por el uso; frases, modismos v refranes más conocidos; articulos y notas geográficas, históricas, de ciencias fisicas y naturales, literatura. bellas artes, deportes, etc. Barcelona, Salvat y c.a, s. en c. [1907?-13?]. 9 v. illus., plates, ports., maps, plans, facsims., diagrs. 26 cm.

- Apéndice. Barcelona, Salvat y c.*, s. en c. [1912?].

v. 1. illus., col. pl., map. 26} cm.

49. Draudius, Georg. Bibliotheca classica, sive Catalogus officinalis ... Vsque ad annum MDCXXIV ... Francofurti ad Moenum, 1625.

Contains a chapter, De scriptoribus rerum americanarum. "The only special list of books relating to America which seems to have been published from the time when the Roman presses first published the Epistle of Columbus in 1493 to the year 1625." Harrisse, B. A. V., p. xiii

50. Echeverría y Reyes, Aníbal. ... Sobre lenguaje. Disquisicion bibliográfica. ... Valparaiso, Impr. de "La Tribuna." 1897.

23 p. 16½ cm.

On Americanisms, especially Spanish-American idioms and provincialisms.

50a. — Voces usadas en Chile. Santiago. Imprenta elzeviriana, 1900. xxii, 246 p. 20 cm.
Bibliografía: p. 1-21.

51. Elías de Molíns, Antonio. Ensayo de una bibliografía literaria de España y América. Noticias de obras y estudios relacionados con la poesía, teatro, historia, novela, crítica literaria, etc. Madrid, V. Suarez [1902].
2 v. 25½ cm.

First printed serially in "Revista crítica de historia y literatura españolas, portuguesas, é hispano-americanas," v. 5-7, 1900-02.

Pt. 2. Literatura americana.

52. Enciclopedia ilustrada Segui; diccionario universal con todas las voces y locuciones usadas en España y en la América latina. . . . Contiene también todas las equivalencias en francés, inglés é italiano del léxico castellano y de la inmensa mayoría de voces de la técnica moderna. Barcelona, Centro editorial artístico de M. Seguí [1907-.

v. 1-8. illus., col. pl., maps. 34 cm. In publication: A-Gallo.

 Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europea-americana. Barcelona, Hijos de J. Espasa [1907?]

32 v. illus., plates, maps. 25 cm. In publication: v. 1-20 (A-Espan); 29-40 (Or-Paku).

An indispensable work; the general article on bibliography and the special bibliographies that accompany the articles are very valuable.

54. Fernández, Alonso. Historia eclesiastica de nuestros tiempos, que es compendio de los excelentes frvtos que en ellos el estado eclesiastico y sagradas religiones han hecho y hazen en la conuersion de idolatras y reducion de hereges. . . . Toledo, Viuda de P. Rodriguez, 1611.

4 p. l., 496 p.

Medina. Bib. hisp. am. no. 571. 2 chapters on authors of the New World.

55. Figueroa, Pedro Pablo. Pensadores americanos ... Santiago de Chile, Impr. de "El Correo," 1890.

137 p., 2 l. 24 cm.

56. Filsinger, Ernest B. Exporting to Latin America; a handbook for merchants, manufacturers and exporters. New York [etc.] D. Appleton and company, 1916.

xiv p., 1 l., 565 p. 23 cm. Bibliography: p. 465-505.

57. Ford, Paul Leicester. Check list of bibliographies, catalogues, referencelists, and lists of authorities of American books and subjects. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889.

viii p., 59 numb. l., [61]-64 p. 24} cm.

Based on his "Reference list to bibliographies, catalogues, and reference lists on America" in Library journal, v. 13, 1888.

1070 titles: classified, with author index.

56. Fumagalli, Giuseppe. Bibliografia degli scritti italiani o stampati in Italia sopra Cristoforo Colombo, la scoperta del Nuovo Mondo, e i viaggi degli Italiani in America, comp. da Giuseppe Fumagalli, con la collaborazione di Pietro Amat di S. Filippo. Roma, Auspice il Ministero della pubblica, istruzione, 1893.

3 p. l., [ix]-xx p., 1 l., 217 p., 1 l. 30} cm. Raccolta di documenti e studi, pub. della R. Commissione columbiana ... pte. vr.)

59. Gallardo, Bartolomé José. Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos, formado con los apuntamientos de Don Bartolomé, José, Gallardo, coordinados y aumentados por D. M. R. Zarco del Valle y D. J. Sancho Rayón. Madrid, M. Rivadeneyra, 1863-66; M. Tello, 1888-89.

4 v. 28 cm.

Vol. 3-4 ed. by Marcelino Menendes y Pelayo.

60. García Caraffa, Alberto. Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispanoamericana. Madrid, Impr. de A. Marso, 1919.

v. 1 (225 p.).

By Alberto and Arturo García Caraffa.

Cf. Bibliografía española, Feb., 1920.

61. García Icazbalceta, Joaquín. Apuntes para un catàlogo de escritores en lenguas indígenas de América. México, 1866.

1 p. l., [v]-xiii, 167 p. 15} cm.

175 titles.

A second ed. appeared in Obras de D. J. García Icanbalceta, México, 1898, t. viii, p. [5]-181.

- 62. Garí v Siumell, José Antonio. Biblioteca Mercedaria, ó sea Escritores de la celeste, real y militar Orden de la Merced, redencion de cautivos, con indicacion de sus obras, tanto impresas como manuscritas, su patria, títulos, dignidades, hechos memorables, época y provincia en que florecieron y murieron, y dos copiosos índices, uno de escritores y otro de las obras y escritos. Barcelona, Impr. de los herederos de la viuda Pla, 1875. vii. 395 p. 214 cm.
- 63. Genoa. Biblioteca Berio. Catalogo delle opere componenti la raccolta Colombiana esistente nella civica Biblioteca Berio di Genova. Genova. Fratelli Pagano, 1906.

126 p. 201 cm.

64. Godoy, José F. Enciclopedia biográfica de contemporáneos. Washington, Estab. tip. de T. W. Cadick, 1898.

322 p. illus. (ports.). 25 cm.

66. Goldsmith, Peter H. A brief bibliography of books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, relating to the republics commonly called Latin American. with comments. New York, The Macmillan company, 1915.

xix, 107 p. 19 cm.

66. González Dávila, Gil. Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, vidas de sus arzobispos, y obispos y cosas memorables de sus sedes. Madrid, D. Díaz de la Carrera, 1649-55.

2 T.

67. Harrisse, Henry. Bibliotheca americana vetustissima. A description of works relating to America, published between 1492 and 1551. New York, G. P. Philes, 1866.

4 p. l., liv p., 1 l., 519, [1] p. 25 cm.

304 titles, arranged chronologically; transcribed line for line, with exact collations, historical and bibliographical notes, references to authorities and libraries, etc.

68. — Bibliotheca americana vetustissima. A description of works relating to America, published between the years 1492 and 1551. Additions. Paris, Tross [Leipzig, printed, W. Drugulin] 1872.

2 p. l., xl, 199 p., 1 l. front., facsims. 26 cm. 186 titles.

69. — Introduccion de la imprenta en América, con una bibliografía de las obras impresas en aquel hemisferio desde 1540 á 1600, por el autor de la Bibliotheca americana vetustissima. Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1872.

2 p. I., 59 p. facsims. 24 cm.

A revised translation, with additions, of Harrisse's Brief disquisition concerning the early history of printing in America, drawn from passages in the Bibliotheca americana vetustissima.

70. ——— Cordier, Henri. Henry Harrisse, 1830-1910. [Chartres, Impr. Durand, 1910?]

Cover-title, 39, [1] p. 24 x 181 cm.

"Extrait du Bulletin du bibliophile."

"Bibliographie": p. 9-39.

71. — Growoll, Adolf. Henry Harrisse; biographical and bibliographical sketch. ... New York, Dibdin club, 1899.

13 p. front. (port.) 12°. (Dibdin club, New York. Leaflets. no. 3.)

72. — Vignaud, Jean Henry. Henry Harrisse; étude biographique et morale, avec la bibliographie critique de ses écrits. ... Paris, C. Chadenat, 1912.

83 p. 22½ cm.

Henríquez Ureña, Pedro. El primer libro de escritor americano. (In Revista de filosofía, Buenos Aires, 1918.)

25} cm. Año IV, no. 5 (Septiembre) p. [317]-320.

74. Heredia y Livermoore, Ricardo. Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo. Heredia, comte de Benahavis. Paris, É. Paul, L. Huard at Guillemin, 1891-94.

4 v. illus. 29 cm.

8,304 titles; includes the library originally collected by Vicente Salvá y Pérez, purchased by Heredia. Catalogued by Manuel R. Zarco del Valle and M. Menéndes y Pelayo.

 Hernández Morejón, Antonio. Historia bibliográfica de la medicina española. Madrid [Impr. de la viuda de Jordan e hijos] 1842-50.

7 v. front. (port., v. 2). 19½ cm.

 Hidalgo, Dionisio. Diccionario general de bibliografía española. Madrid, Impr. de las Escuelas pias, 1862-81.

7 v. 23½ cm.

 Los hombres del siglo XX. Estudios biográficos de hispano-americanos y contemporáneos. Mexico, 1909-10.

184 p.

"Brief biographies of 178 men not the most prominent in affairs." Blake's bulletin, Dec. 1917.

 Ispizúa, Segundo de. Bibliografía histórica sudamericana. Ensayo. Bilbao, Eléxpuru, 1915.

19 p.

Reviewed in Revista de filología española, t. 2, no. 4, p. 400-01.

79. Jones, Chester Lloyd. Caribbean interests of the United States. ... New York [etc.] D. Appleton and company, 1916.

viii, [2] p., 1 l., 379 p. front. (fold. map). 23 cm.

"A select list of recent discussions relating to the Caribbean": p. 353-368.

80. Juan de San Antonio. Bibliotheca universa franciscana, sive alumnorum trium ordinum S. P. N. Francisci, qui ab ordine seraphico condito, usque ad praesentem diem, latina sive alia quavis lingua scripto aliquid consignarunt, encyclopedia. Matriti, ex typographia causae V. Matris de Agreda, 1731.

3 v.

Medina. Bib. hisp.-am, 2841.

"Una fuente abundante y segura de información relativa a libros y escritores americanos."

81. Kaiser, John Boynton. ... The national bibliographies of the South American republics; preliminary list. Boston, The Boston book company, 1913.

19 p., 1 l. 22 cm. (Bulletin of bibliography pamphlets, no. 21.)

"Reprinted from the Bulletin of bibliography, vol. 7, no. 6, July, 1913."

82. Kennett, White. Bibliothecæ americanæ primordia. An attempt towards laying the foundation of an American library, in several books, papers, and writings, humbly given to the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. ... By a member of the said society. London, Printed for G. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713.

1 p. l., iii, xvi, 3-275 (i. e. 283) p., 112 l. 21½ cm.

Larrabure y Unanue, Eugenio. El Archivo de Indias y la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla. Barcelona, A. Bosch [1914].

54 p.

84. ——— Les Archives des Indes et la Bibliothèque Colombine de Séville; renseignements sur leurs richesses bibliographiques et sur l'exposition d'anciens documents relatifs à l'Amerique. [Paris, Imp. Hemmerlé et cie, 1914]

88 p. incl. illus., pl., port. 231 cm.

 Latorre, Germàn. La cartografía colonial americana. Sevilla, Est. tip. de la Guía oficial, 1916.

1 p. l., [5]-79 p. 9 pl. 26½ cm.

86. Leclerc, Charles. Bibliotheca americana. Catalogue raisonné d'une trèsprécieuse collection de livres anciens et modernes sur l'Amerique et les Philippines, classés par ordre alphabétique de noms d'auteurs. Paris, Maisonneuve cie., 1867.

vii, 407 p. 23½ cm.

1,647 titles; bibliographical and critical notes.

87. — Bibliotheca americana. Histoire, géographie, voyages, archéologie et linguistique des deux Amériques et des îles Philippines, Paris, Maisonneuve et cie., 1878.

xx, 737 p., 1 l. 23½ cm.

A second catalog of Americana for sale by Maisonneuve et cie., the first having appeared in 1867.

2,638 titles, classified; with author and title index. Full bibliographical notes.

------ ... Supplément. N°. 1. Novembre 1881. Paris, Maisonneuve et cie., 1881.

1 p. l., 102 p., 2 l. 23½ cm.

Titles numbered, 2,639-3,029.

... Supplement—no. 2. Paris, Maisonneuve frères & C. Leclerc, 1887.

127 p. 23½ cm.

Titles numbered 3,030-3,620.

"Publications relatives à l'histoire et à la linguistique de l'Amérique, en vente ches Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclere": p. [111]-127.

- 88. Lenz, Heinrich Robert Rudolf. Bibliografía crítica de las obras sobre americanismos (In his Diccionario etimológico de las voces chilenas derivadas de lenguas indíjenas americanas. Santiago de Chile, 1904. 26 cm. p. 58-90.
- León Pinelo, Antonio Rodríguez de. Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica. Madrid, I. Gonzalez, 1629.

44 p. l., 186, xii p., 1 l. 21 cm. Titles translated into Spanish.

90. — Epitome de la bibliotheca oriental, y occidental, nautica, y geografica ... añadido, y enmendado nuevamente, en que se contienen los escritores de las Indias orientales, y occidentales, y reinos convecinos, China, Tartaria, Japon, Persia, Armenia, Etiopia, y otras partes. Madrid, F. Martinez Abad, 1737-38.

3 v. in 1. 30½ cm.

Enlarged and annotated by A. González de Barcia.

Titles in Spanish.

91. — Tablas cronológicas de los Reales consejos supremo y de la Cámara de las Indias Occidentales. 2. ed. Madrid, Tip. de M. G. Hernández, 1892.

2 p. l., [vii]-viii, 55 p. 20½ cm.

92. Lichtenstein, Walter. Report to the president of Northwestern university on the results of a trip to South America. Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern university press, 1915.

2 p. l., 7-43, [1] p. 4 facsim. 26½ cm. (Northwestern university bulletin. vol. xvi, no. 1. Sept. 3, 1915)

93. Lichtenstein, Walter. 2d ed. Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern university press, 1915.

43 p., 1 l. 4 facsim. 26½ cm. (Northwestern university bulletin. vol. xvi, no. 1. Sept. 3, 1915.)

93a. Lockey, Joseph Byrne. Pan Americanism; its beginnings. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920. 5. p. l., 503 p., 1 l. 21 cm. Bibliography: p. 468-486.

94. Lowery, Woodbury. The Lowery collection. A descriptive list of maps of the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820, by Woodbury Lowery. Ed. with notes by Philip Lee Phillips. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1912.

2 p. I., iii-x, 3-567 p. front. (port.) 26½ cm.

Mr. Lowery left his collection of maps to the Library of Congress. "The monograph describes 750 maps, of which there are 306 in the Lowery collection of maps, 206 not in the collection but in the Map division of the Library, and 184 in neither one nor the other."—p. vi.

95. Ludewig, Hermann Ernst. The literature of American aboriginal languages.
... With additions and corrections, by Professor Wm. W. Turner. Ed. by Nicolas Trübner. London, Trübner and co., 1858.
xxiv p., 1 l., 258 p. 22½ cm. Trübner's Bibliotheca glottica. 1).

96. Madrid. Museo biblioteca de ultramar. ... Catálogo de la biblioteca. Madrid, Impr. de la sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1900. ix p., 1 l., 350 p. 28 cm.

97. Maffei, Eugenio. Apuntes para una biblioteca española de libros, folletos y artículos, impresos y manuscritos, relativos al conocimiento y explotación de las riquezas minerales y á las ciencias auxiliares. Comprenden la mineralogía y geología...la hidrogeología; la química analítica docimástica y metalúrgica; la legislación y estadística mineras... concernientes á la península y á nuestras antiguas y actuales posesiones de ultramar. Acompañados de reseñas biográficas y de un ligero resúmen de la mayor parte de las obras que se citan, por D. Eugenio Maffei y D. Ramon Rua Figueroa. Madrid, J. M. Lapuente, 1871-[72].

2 v. 24 x 17 cm.

98. Major, Richard Henry. The bibliography of the first letter of Christopher Columbus, describing his discovery of the New world. London, Ellis & White, 1872.

2 p. l., 61, [1] p. 21 cm.

 Maluquer y Salvador, Josó. El derecho hispano-americano en la bibliografía española. Madrid, Impr. de la Revista de legislación, 1887.

1 p. l., [5]-45 p. 20 cm.

100. Marcellino, da Civezza. Saggio di bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana...Prato, R. Guasti, 1879.

xiv p., 1 l., 698 p. 25} cm.

Notices of 819 writers and their works (including over 250 mss.) arranged alphabetically by authors; with extracts from, and some reprints of, the rarer works, many of which concern early explorations of Spanish America.

- 101. Markham, Clements Robert. Colonial history of South America, and the wars of independence. [With a critical essay on the sources of information, and editorial notes, including a note on the bibliography of Brazil. (In Winsor, Justin, ed. Narrative and critical history of America. Boston and New York, 1884-89. 32 cm. v. 8 (1889) p. [295]-368. illus.)
- 102. Marsden, William. A catalogue of dictionaries, grammars, and alphabets. London, 1796.

vi. 150 p.

Contains but little about American languages: cf. Sabin.

103. Martínez, Benigno Tejeiro. Diccionario biográfico-bibliográfico de escritores antiguos y modernos nacidos en los países del habla castellana, escrito en vista de las fuentes mas autorizadas, extractado y traducido de los diccionarios, revistas, periódicos, catálogos y otras obras biográficas y bibliográficas publicadas en Europa y en América. Introducción. Buenos Aires, Impr. de Stiller y Laass, 1886.

CONTENTS.-1. pte. Plan de la obra y su alcance.-2. pte. Fuentes biográficas (p. 6-7) Fuentes bibliográficas (p. 7-20)-3. pte. Indicadores bibliográficos del tomo I (title index of works by authors whose names begin with A)-4. pte. Biografías comprendidas en el tomo I, letra A. No more published.

104. -- Gallegos ilustres en América, desde la conquista hasta nuestros dias. Notas biográficos. Buenos Aires, 1901.

94 p., 11.

Viuda de Rico, Bol., May 1906.

105. Martínez Vigil, Ramón. La orden de Predicadores, sus glorias en santidad, apostolado, ciencias, artes y gobierno de los pueblos, seguidas del ensayo de una biblioteca de Domínicos españoles. Madrid, G. del Amo; [etc., etc.1 1884.

3 p. l., 430 p., 1 l. 20 cm.

106. Martinville, Henri. Le dictionnaire biographique illustré de l'Amérique latine. Paris, 1913-

15 pts. 28} cm.

107. Medina, José Toribio. Bibliografia numismática colonial hispano-americana ... Santiago de Chile, Impreso en casa del autor, 1912.

viii p., 1 l., [11]-198 p., 1 l. illus. (facsims.) 313 cm.

108. — Bibliotheca americana. Catálogo breve de mi coleccion de libros relativos a la America latina; con un ensayo de bibliografía de Chile durante el período colonial. Santiago de Chile, typis authoris, 1888.

vi, 478 p., 1 l. 19 cm.

- Biblioteca hispano-americana (1493-1810). Santiago de Chile, 109. -Impreso y grabado en casa del autor, 1898-1907.

7 v. illus., facsims. 29 cm.

Treats of "Primero: Libros publicados por americanos ó españoles que vivieron en América y que no tratan de una manera directa de las cosas de nuestro continente ... Segundo: Libros escritos en castellano ó en latin é impresos en España ó fuera de ella por españoles ó americanos, 6 publicados en la Península por individuos de cualquier nacionalidad, en alguno de aquellos idiomas."

8,481 titles, transcribed line for line; with bio-bibliographical notes, and frequent references to authorities and to libraries containing copies of the works described.

The "Prólogo" (t. 6, p. ix-cxxx) contains (1) a historical sketch of the press law and liberty of the press in Spanish America; (2) a notice of the life and works of Antonio de Leon Pinelo (the titles of his published works being numbered 7,702-7,737); and (3) notices of earlier bibliographies relating to Spanish America.

CONTENTS.—t. 1. 1493-1600 (449 titles)—t. 2. 1601-1650 (no. 450-1,153)—t. 3. 1651-1700 (no. 1,153-2,023)—t. 4. 1701-1767 (no. 2,024-4,284)—t. 5. 1768-1810 (no. 4,285-6,151)—t. 6. Prólogo. Sin fecha determinada, siglo xvII-xIX (no. 6,152-7,737) Adiciones. Ampliaciones. Dudosos. Manuscritos.—t. 7. Algo más de Léon Pinelo. Nuevas adiciones. Sin fecha determinada. Ultimas adiciones. Ampliaciones. Notas biográficas (no. 7,738-8,481).

110. — Introducción de la imprenta en América; carta ... al Sr. D. José Gestoso y Pérez. Santiago de Chile, Impr. Cervantes, 1910.

viii, [9]-104 p. 26½ cm.

From the introductory matter to vol. 1 of the author's Imprenta en México. cf. Dedication, p. [v].

 Juan Diaz de Solís; estudio histórico. Santiago de Chile, Impr. en casa del autor, 1897.

2 v. 20½ cm.

"Documentos y bibliografía": v. 2.

112. — Notas bibliográficas referentes á las primeras producciones de la imprenta en algunas ciudades de la América española (Ambato, Angostura, Curazao, Guayaquil, Maracaibo. Nueva Orleans, Nueva Valencia, Panamá, Popayán, Puerto España, Puerto Rico, Querétaro, Santa Marta, Santiago de Cuba, Santo Domingo, Tunja y otros lugares) (1754-1823). Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1904.

116 p. 24½ cm.

113. — Noticias bio-bibliográficas de los Jesuitas expulsos de América en 1767. . . . Santiago de Chile, Impr. elzeviriana, 1914. ix, [11]-327, [1] p. illus. (ports.) 23 cm.

114. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. Historia de la poesía hispano-americana. ... Madrid, V. Suárez, 1911-13.

2 v. 25 cm. (Obras completas ... [n-111].)

An invaluable work for criticism, bibliography and biography.

115. Meusel, Johann Georg. Bibliotheca historica instructa a B. Burcardo Gotthelf Struvio, aucta a B. Christi, Gottlieb Budero, nunc vero a Ioanne Georgio Meuselio ita digesta, amplificata et emendata, ut paene novum opus videri possit. Lipsiae, apud Heredes Weidmanni et Reichium, 1782-95.

8 v. 211 cm.

Vol. 121 contains a valuable bibliography of works relating to the New World.

116. Miller, Benjamin L. The mineral deposits of South America, by Benjamin L. Miller ... and Joseph T. Singewald jr. ... 1st ed. New York, McGraw-Hill book company, inc., [etc., etc.] 1919.

ix, 598 p. illus., maps. 24 cm. Includes select bibliographies.

117. Mitre, Bartolomé. Lenguas americanas. Estudio bibliográfico-lingüístico de las obras del P. Luis de Valdivia sobre el araucano y el allentiak, con un vocabulario razonado del allentiak. La Plata, Talleres de publicaciones del Museo, 1894.

153 p. 17 cm.

"Publicado en la Revista del Museo de La Plata."

- 118. Molina Navarro, Gabriel. Indice para facilitar el manejo y consulta de los catálogos de Salvá y Heredia. Madrid, G. Molina, 1913.
 162 p. 28½ cm.
- 119. Muller, Frederik. Catalogue of books, maps, plates on America, and of a remarkable collection of early voyages, offered for sale by Frederick Muller ... including a large number of books in all languages with bibliographical and historical notes and presenting an essay towards a Dutch-American bibliography. ... Amsterdam, F. Muller, 1872-75.

3 v. 2 facsims. (incl. front). 23 cm.

120. Muller, Frederik & Co. Americana; livres et cartes provenant en partie de la collection d'un ancien ministre aux Etats-Unis ... Amsterdam, F. Muller & Co. [1896].

2 p. l., 191 p. fold. front. 24 cm.

 Navarrete, Martin Fernández de. Biblioteca maritima española, obra póstuma. Madrid, Impr. de la viuda de Calero, 1851.

2 v.

Bio-bibliographical notes of Spanish authors, explorers, soldiers, etc., arranged alphabetically by forenames, containing many data referring to Latin America.

122. O'Halloran, T. P. A bibliography of South America. Buenos Aires, Mackern; London, T. F. Unwin, 1912.
55 p. 21½ cm.

122a. Olivart, Ramón de Dalmau y de Olivart, marqués de. Bibliographie du droit international, par le marquis de Olivart. . . . Catalogue d'une bibliothèque de droit international et sciences auxiliaires. 2. éd., rev. et mise à jour. Augm. de quatre tables (auteurs, anonimes, matières et états). Paris. A. Pedone. 1905-10.

4 p. l., 414, [2], iv, 419-1278 p. 3 pl. 23 x 19 cm. (Bibliothèque internationale et diplomatique. xLt)

- 123. Ossorio y Bernard, Manuel. Apuntes para un diccionario de escritoras americanas del siglo xix. (In España moderna, año 3 (1891) Dec. p. [198]—202; año 4 (1892) Jan. p. [196]—206, Feb. p. [166]—173).
- 124. Oyuela, Calixto. Antología poética hispano-americana; con notas biográficas y críticas. Buenos Aires, A. Estrada y cia. 1919.
- 125. Pan American union. Columbus memorial library. List of Latin American history and description in the Columbus memorial library. International bureau of the American republics. November 1, 1907. Washington, D. C. [1907].

98 p. 23 cm.

Supplement no. 1, November 1, 1907, to July 8, 1909. Washington, D. C. [Govt. print. off.] 1909.

34 p. 23 cm.

- Supplement no. 2, July 9, 1909, to June 1, 1914. Washington, D. C. [Gibson brothers, inc.] 1914.

"A reference list of bibliographies," by C. E. Babcock, p. 123. 132.

- Additions to the Columbus memorial library (Interna-126. tional bureau of the American republics). Library series no. 1-. July 1900-. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1901-.

(In Pan American union, Bulletin, Washington, 1901-, v. 10-,

No. 1-3, 8-9 have title: Accessions to the Library of the Bureau of the American republics, International union of American republics. Library series.

In addition to these semiannual lists, the numbers of the Bulletin contain lists of monthly additions.

127. Paris. Bibliothéque nationale. ... Catalogue de l'histoire de l'Amérique, par George-A. Barringer, bibliothécaire au Département des imprimés. Paris [Bibliothèque nationale] 1903-11.

5 v. 28 cm.

128. Pennsylvania University. Catalogue of the Berendt linguistic collection. By Daniel Garrison Brinton. [Philadelphia] Dept. of archaeology and paleontology, University of Pennsylvania, 1900.

Cover-title, 32 p. port. 23 cm.

"Reprinted from Bulletin of the Free museum of science and art, University of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, no. 4."

129. Picatoste y Rodríguez, Felipe. Apuntes para una biblioteca científica española del siglo XVI; estudios biográficos y bibliográficos de ciencias exactas, físicas y naturales. Madrid, Impr. de M. Tello, 1891. viii p., 1 l., 416 p., 2 l. 271 cm.

130. Platzmann, Julius. Verzeichniss einer auswahl amerikanischer grammatiken, wörterbücher, katechismen, u. s. w. Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1876. 3 p. l., 38 p., 1 l. 23½ cm.

131. Pombo, Jorge. Biblioteca de Jorge Pombo. Catálogo de la sección historia y geografia de America (Obras escogidas) 1906. Bogota, Impr. de "La Idea" [1906].

58 p. 25 cm.

132. Portillo y Aguilar, Sebastián. Chronica espiritual augustiniana. Vidas de santos, beatos, y venerables religiosos y religiosas del Orden de su gran padre San Agustin. ... Madrid, Impr. de A. de Orozco, 1731.

4 v. Medina. Bib. hisp-am., 2813.

133. Quaritch, Bernard. A general catalogue of books offered to the public at the affixed prices, by Bernard Quaritch. London [G. Norman & son, printers] 1887-.

Vol. 4, Spanish and Portuguese books; v. 5, Geography and travels, with American languages; v. 7, General index; supp. vii. Bibliotheca hispana.

133a. Quelle, Otto. Verzeichnis wissenschaftlicher einrichtungen, zeitschriften und bibliographien der ibero-amerikanischen kulturwelt. Stuttgart und Berlin, Druck der Deutschen verlags-anstalt, 1916?

(Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-südamerikanischen und iberischen instituts, nr. 3)

1. Nachtrag. (In Mitteilungen des Deutsch südamerikanischen und iberischen instituts, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1919.

24½ cm. 7. bd., p. [47]-71)

134. Quesada, Ernesto. L'imprimerie et les livres dans l'Amérique espagnole au xvie, xviie et xviiie siècle. Discours prononcé au Congrès international des américanistes (3^{me} session). Séance du 24 septembre 1879. Bruxelles, X. Havermans, 1879.

30 p. 22½ cm.

135. Quétif, Jacques. Scriptores Ordinis prædicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati, opus quo singulorum vita, præclareque gesta referuntur, chronologia insuper, seu tempus quo quisque floruit certo statuitur: fabulæ exploduntur: scripta genuina, dubia, supposititia expenduntur, recentiorum de iis judicium aut probatur, aut emendatur: codices manuscripti, variæque e typis editiones, & ubi habeantur, indicantur: alumni dominicani, quos alieni rapuerant, vindicantur, dubii, & extranei, falsoque ascripti ad cujusque seculi finem rejiciuntur, & suis restituuntur: præmittitvr in prolegomenis notitia ordinis qualis fuit ab initio ad an. Md. Tum series capitulorum generalium iis annis habitorum, denique index eorum qui ad ecclesiasticas dignitates promoti fuerunt, vel in hoc tomo laudatorum, vel alias ab aliis omissorum. Inchoavit R. P. F. Jacobus Quetif, S. T. P. absolvit R. P. F. Jacobus Echard ... Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud J-B-C. Ballard, et N. Simart 1719-21.

2 v. 40 cm.

"Un verdadero monumento de investigaciones bío-bibliográficas, cuya consulta es indispensable cuando se trata de autores y libros americanos." Medina-Bib. hisp. am. v. 6, p. cxxviii.

136. Ramírez de Arellano, Carlos. Ensayo de un catálogo biográfico-bibliográfico de los escritores que han sido individuos de las cuatro órdenes militares de Espa.a. (In Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Madrid, 1894.)

224 cm. t. 109, p. [v]-xii, 1-243)

137. Revista de derecho, historia y letras ... t. 1- (año 1-.); julio 1898-. Buenos Aires, J. Peuser, 1898-.

Beginning with v. 17, includes "Bibliografía argentina," by E. S. Zeballos, of which earlier portions were published in El Boletín del Instituto geográfico argentino, v. 17-19.

138. Rezábal y Ugarte, José de, Biblioteca de los escritores que han sido individuos de los seis colegios mayores: de San Ildefonso de la universidad de Alcalá, de Santa Cruz de la de Valladolid, de San Bartolomé, de Cuenca, San Salvador de Oviedo, y del Arzobispo de la de Salamanca ... Madrid, Impr. de Sancha, 1805.

xvi. 472 p., 1 l., 54 p.

139. Rich, Obadiah. A catalogue of books, relating principally to America, arranged under the years in which they were printed. London, O. Rich, 1832.

129 p. 211 cm

CONTENTS.—pt. 1. Books printed between 1500 and 1600.—pt. 2. Books printed between 1600 and 1700.

140. ——— Bibliotheca americana nova; or, A catalogue of books in various languages relating to America, printed since the year 1700. Compiled principally from the works themselves, by O. Rich. London, O. Rich; New York, Harper and brothers, 1835.

2 p. l., 424 p. 23 cm.

Half-title: Bibliotheca americana nova, part 1. 1701 to 1800.

Supplement to the Bibliotheca americana nova, part 1. Additions and corrections 1701 to 1800. London, Rich, 1841.

1 p. l., p. [425]-517. 21½ cm.

Vol. II. 1801-1844. London, Rich and sons [1844]-46.

2 pt. 23 cm.

141. ——— Bibliotheca americana nova. A catalogue of books relating to America, in various languages, including voyages to the Pacific and around the world, and collections of voyages and travels printed since the year 1700. Compiled principally from the works themselves, by O. Rich . . . London, Rich and sons, 1846.

2 v. 22 cm.

Vol. 1 is a reissue of the Bibliotheca americana nova published as an independent work in 1835 (with half-title Pt. 1: 1701–1800) and its Supplement, first pub. in 1841.

Vol. 2 is a reissue of two parts, issued in 1844 and 1846, covering literature of 1801-1830 and 1831-1844 respectively.

The period 1500-1700 is covered by Rich's Catalogue of books relating principally to America, London, 1832. A proposed "Bibliotheca americana vetus" was completed but never published, owing to loss of the manuscript.

142. Rivadeneira, Pedro de. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesv. opvs inchoatvm a Petro Ribadeneira, anno salutis 1602. Continvatvm a Philippo Alegambe, vsque ad annum 1642. Recognitum & productum ad annum Jubilaei M. DC. LXXV. a Nathanaele Sotvello. Romae, ex typ. de L. Varesii, 1676.

xxxvi, 984 p.

Caballero's Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu forms a valuable supplement to this work. Backer-Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, is, of course, the reference work of choice for Jesuit bio-bibliography.

143. Robertson, William Spence. Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America. (In American historical association. Annual report, 1907. Washington, 1908. 25 cm.)

v. I, p. 189-539

"Critical bibliography": p. 481-511.

144. Rise of the Spanish-American republics as told in the lives of their liberators ... New York, London, D. Appleton and company, 1918.

xv, 380 p. front., ports., maps, plan. 22½ cm. Select bibliography, p. 333-361.

145. Sabin, Joseph. A dictionary of books relating to America, from its discovery to the present time ... vol. i-[xix, vol. xx, pt. 1-2. A-Smith, H. H.]. New York, J. Sabin, 1868 [1867]-92.

20 v. 22½ cm.

Vol. 15-20, 1885-92, ed. by Wilberforce Eames.

No more published.

146. Salvá y Pérez, Vicente. Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, escrito por D. Pedro Salvá y Mallen, y enriquecido con la descripcion de otras muchas obras, de sus ediciones, etc. Valencia, Impr. de Ferrer de Orga, 1872.

2 v. illus. (incl. ports., facsims.) 25 cm. An indispensable work.

The collection (4,070 numbers) was acquired by Ricardo Heredia, conde de Benahavis; much enlarged (8,304 lots) it was sold by auction 1891-94.

An index to the Salvá and Heredia catalogs, comp. by G. Molina Navarro, was pub. Madrid 1913.

- 147. Sánchez, José Rogerio. Autores españoles é hispano-americanos (estudio critico de sus obras principales). Madrid, Perlado, Páez y c.ª, 1911.
 913, [2] p. 20½ cm.
- 148. Santiago Vela, Gregorio de. Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la Orden de San Agustin. ... Obra basada en el catálogo bio-bibliográfico agustiniano del P. Bonifacio Moral. Madrid, Impr. del Asilo de huérfanos del S. C. de Jesús, 1913.

1-5 v. illus., facsim. 26 cm. In publication; v. 1-5 (A-M), 1913-20.

149. Scarpetta, M. Leónidas. Diccionario biográfico de los campeones de la libertad de Nueva Granada, Venezuela, Ecuadro i Perú. Que comprende sus servicios, hazanas i virtudes, por M. Leonídas Scarpetta i Saturnino Vergara. Bogota, Imprenta de Zalamea, por M. Díaz, 1879.

4 p. l., 728 p. front. (port.) 25½ cm.

150. Schuller, Rodolfo R. Primera contribución al estudio de la cartografía americana. Montevideo, A. Barreira y Ramos, 1905.

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151. Serrano de Wilson, Emilia, baronesa de Wilson. Americanos célebres; glorias del Nuevo mundo ... [Barcelona, Tip. de los Suc. de N. Ramírez y c.ª, 1888].

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152. — ... El mundo literario americano; escritores contemporáneos, semblanzas, poesías, apreciaciones, pinceladas. Barcelona [etc.] Maucci, 1903.

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152a. Shepherd, William Robert. La literatura y el periodismo en la América del Sur; conferencia con proyecciones luminosas pronunciada en la segunda velada del "Círculo literario hispano" de Nueva York. Nueva York, Impr. "Las Novedades," 1911. 25 [1] p. 20½ cm.

153. Sivers, Jegór von. Ueber Madeira und die Antillen nach Mittelamerika. Reisedenkwürdigkeiten und forschungen . . . Leipzig, C. F. Fleischer, 1861.

xii, 388 p. 201 cm.
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154. Sociedad de la unión americana de Santiago de Chile. Coleccion de ensayos i documentos relativos a la union i confederacion de los pueblos hispano-americanos. Publicada a espensas de la "Sociedad de la union americana de Santiago de Chile," por una comision nombrada por la misma i compuesta de los Señores Don José Victorino Lastarria, Don Alvaro Covarrubias, Don Domingo Santa Maria i Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta chilena, 1862.

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155. Sosa, Francisco. Escritores y poetas sud-americanos ... México, Oficina tip. de la Secretaría de fomento, 1890.

1 p. l., xix, 290 p., 1 l. port. 20½ cm.

- 156. The South American year book and directory. (Incorporating the South American railway year book, South American annual, and South American blue book.) 1913- Containing general information relating to the ten republics of the continent of South America, British, Dutch, and French Guiana, the Panama canal and the Falkland Islands. Comp. and ed. by C. S. Vesey Brown. London, The Louis Cassier co. ltd. [1913-]. Include bibliographies.
- 167. Spain. Archivo general de Indias. Seville. Archivo general de Indias: catálogo; cuadro general de la documentación, Centro oficial de estudios americanistas por Pedro Torres Lanzas y Germán Latorre. Sevilla, Tip. zarzuela, 1918.

2 p. l., [5]-165, [2] p. 23 cm.

At head of title: Publicaciones del Centro oficial de estudios americanistas de Sevilla. Biblioteca colonial americana, t. 1,

158. — Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Perú, Bolivia y Brasil) según los documentos originales del Archivo general de Indias, extractados y anotados por el R. P. Pablo Pastells. Madrid, V. Suárez, 1912-.

v. 1-2. fold. map. 253 cm.

169. — Independencia de América; fuentes para su estudio; catalogo de documentos conservados en el Archivo general de Indias de Sevilla, 1. serie. [Madrid Estab. tip. de la Sociedad de publicaciones históricas] 1912.

6 v. 22½ cm.

Comp. by Pedro Torres Lanzas.

160. ——— Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, etc. de las antiguas audiencias de Panamá, Santa Fé y Quito existentes en el Archivo general de Indias; por Pedro Torres Lanzas, jefe de dicho archivo. Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de arch., bibl. y museos, 1904.

185 p., 1 l. 17 cm.

"De la 'Revista de arch., bibl. y museos.' [Madrid, 1904-06. año 8-10]"

161. Squier, Ephraim George. Catalogue of the library of E. G. Squier. Ed. by Joseph Sabin. New York, C. C. Shelley, printer, 1876.

2 p., l., 277 p. 22 cm.

162. Stevens, Henry. Bibliotheca historica; or, A catalogue of 5000 volumes of books and manuscripts relating chiefly to the history and literature of North and South America, among which is included the larger proportion of the extraordinary library of the late Henry Stevens. ... Boston, H. O. Houghton and company, 1870.

xv, [1], 234 p., 1 l. 22 cm.

2.545 titles.

163. — Catalogue of the American books in the library of the British Museum at Christmas MDCCCLVI. London, Printed by C. Whittingham at the Chiswick press, 1866.

4 pt. in 1 v. 25 cm.

[pt. 3] Catalogue of the Mexican and other Spanish American & West Indian books. 62 p.

164. — Historical nuggets. Bibliotheca americana, or, A descriptive account of my collection of rare books relating to America. London, Printed by Whittingham and Wilkins, 1862.

2 v. 17½ cm.

First printed in 1857 and a few copies circulated.

165. ——— ... Historical nuggets. Bibliotheca americana or a descriptive account of our collection of rare books relating to America. By Henry Stevens ... and Henry Newton Stevens. Second series volume 1. Volume III of the whole work. London, H. Stevens & son, 1885.

2 pt. in 1 v. 171 cm.

Two "specimen parts" of a new catalog, planned to be complete in 8 vols., and to supplement the two volumes which appeared under same title in 1862.

3612 titles; A-Backus. No more published.

166. Ternaux-Compans, Henri. Bibliothèque américaine; ou, Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700. Paris, Arthus-Bertrand, 1837.

viii, 191 pp. 21 cm. 1153 titles.

166a. Thomas, Isaiah. The history of printing in America, with a biography of printers, and an account of newspapers. 2d ed. With the author's corrections and additions, and a catalogue of American publications previous to the revolution of 1776. Albany, N. Y., J. Munsell, printer, 1874.

2 v. front. (port.) fold. pl. $24\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Archæologia americana. Transactions and collections of the American antiquarian society. vol. v-vi)

History of printing in Spanish America, communicated by John R. Bartlett, with lists of books printed in Mexico and Peru before 1600. Appendices B-I.

167. Tiele, Pieter Anton. Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de de Bry et de Hulsius, et dans les collections hollandaises du xvii siècle, et sur les anciennes éditions hollandaises des journaux de navigateurs étrangers; la plupart en la possession de Frederik Muller. Avec tables des voyages, des éditions et des matières. Amsterdam, F. Muller, 1867.

xii, 372 p. fold. pl. 21½ cm.

168. Toro y Gisbert, Manuel de. ... Americanismos. Paris, P. Ollendorff.

2 p. l., 285 p., 1 l. 19 cm.

"Los diccionarios de americanismos": p. [169]-219.

169. Torres Caicedo, José María. Ensayos biográficos y de crítica literaria. sobre los principales poetas y literatos hispano-americanos. 1. serie. Paris, Guillaumin y cia, 1863.

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2 v. 22 cm. xxiv, 480 p.

170. Torres Lanzas, Pedro. Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, & de México y Floridas, existentes en el Archivo general de Indias. Sevilla, Imp. de El Mercantil, 1900.

2 v. 16½ cm.

171. Trömel, Paul Friedrich. Bibliothèque américaine. Catalogue raisonné d'une collection de livres précieux sur l'Amérique, parus depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700, en vente chez F. A. Brockhaus à Leipzig ... Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1861.

xi, 133 p. 20½ em.

172. Trübner and company, London. Bibliotheca hispano-americana. A catalogue of Spanish books printed in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, the Antilles, Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Chili, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic; and of Portuguese books printed in Brazil. Followed by a collection of works on the aboriginal languages of America. London, Trübner & co., 1870.

1 p. l., 184 p. 17 cm.

——————— New ed. 1870.

173. Trübner's American and Oriental literary record. A register of the most important works published in North and South America, in India, China, and the British colonies: with occasional notes on German, Dutch, Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian books. v. [1]-12, Mar. 1865-Dec. 1879; new ser. v. 1-9, Jan. 1880-Dec. 1888; 3rd ser. v. 1, Mar. 1889-Feb. 1890. London, Trübner & co., 1865-90.

22 v. in 7. plates, ports. 25½-27 cm. Replaced in part by Luzac's Oriental list.

174. Trübner's catalogue of dictionaries and grammars of the principal languages and dialects of the world. 2d ed., considerably enlarged and revised, with an alphabetical index. A guide to students and booksellers. London, Trübner & co., 1882.

viii, 170 p. 211 cm.

"Enumerates nearly 3000 titles ... The additions to this new ed. are mainly due to ... Mr. Hiersemann."

175. Ugarte, Manuel. ... La joven literatura hispanoamerciana. Antología de prosistas y poetas. 2. ed. con un apéndice. Paris, A. Colin, 1912.
xivii, [2], 324 p. 18 cm.

Contains bio-bibliographical data.

176. U.S. Bureau of foreign and domestic commerce. ... Publications on Latin America and the West Indies. Brief review of information available to manufacturers and exporters in bulletins issued by the Bureau of foreign and domestic commerce. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1914.

15 p. 24½ cm. (Miscellaneous series, no. 17)

177. ———— ... Publications on South America. Brief review of information available to manufacturers and exporters in bulletins issued by the Bureau of foreign and domestic commerce. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1913.

11 p. 24½ cm. (Miscellaneous series, no. 12)

178. — ... Washington, Govt. print. off., 1914.

11 p. 23½ cm. (Miscellaneous series, no. 12)

151 p. 25½ cm.

Includes references on the collection of debts of foreign countries, relations of the United States and France during the French occupation of Mexico 1861-67, the Venezuela case and the Santo Domingo question.

179. Uriarte, José Eugenio de. Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes á la antigua asistencia española: con un apéndice de otras de los mismos, dignas de especial estudio bibliográfico (28 sept. 1540–16 ag. 1773). Madrid, Estab. tip. "Sucesores de Rivadenevra." 1904–16.

5 v. 28½ cm.

180. Uricoechea, Ezequiel. Mapoteca colombiana. Coleccion de los títulos de todos los mapas, planos, vistas, etc. relativos á la América española, Brasil é islas adyacentes. Arreglada cronologicamente i precedida de una introduccion sobre la historia cartográfica de América. Lóndres, Trübner & cie, 1860.

xvi, 215 p. 20 cm.

181. Valladolid. Colegio de agustinos. Biblioteca bibliografico-agustiniana del Colegio de Valladolid, ordenada por el R. P. Antonio Blanco . . . bibliotecario en el Real colegio de filipinos. Valladolid, Tip. de J. M. de La Cuesta [1909].

exix, 629 p., 1 l. incl. illus., pl. 241 cm.

182. Vignaud, Jean Henri. Bibliografia della polemica concernente Paolo Toscanelli e Cristoforo Colombo originata dalle communicazioni di Gonzalez de la Rosa e di Enrico Vignaud al Congresso degli americanisti tenuto a Parigi nel settembre del 1900. Saggio compilato da Enrico Vignaud ...

tradotto con introduzione e aggiunte da Gustavo Uzielli. Napoli, Tip ed. Cav. A. Tocco-Salvietti, 1905.

2 p. l., 36 p. 26½ cm.

"Estratto dagli Atti del v. Congresso geografico italiano, tenuto in Napoli dal 6 a 11 aprile 1904. Vol. 2, Sezione IV (Storica) p. 479-514.

183. Viñaza, Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano, conde de la. Bibliografía española de lenguas indígenas de América. Madrid, "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra," 1892.

xxv, p., 1 l., 427 p., 1 l., [3] p., 1 l. 27 cm. Indispensable.

184. — Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana ... Madrid, M-Tello, 1893.

xxxiv p., 1 l., 1112 p., 2 l. 27½ cm. 1,750 titles.

 Vindel, P. Catálogo de la libreria de P. Vindel. Madrid, P. Vindel, 1896– 1903.

3 v.

Vol. 1. America, Oceanica and miscellaneous.

186. Watkins, George Thomas. American typographical bibliography, being a list of brief titles of books and pamphlets relating to the history of printing in America. Indianapolis [W. B. Burford] 1898.

11 pp., 1 l. 19 cm.

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188. Weber, Friedrich. Beiträge zur charakteristik der älteren geschichtsschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika, eine biographischbibliographische skizze. . . . Leipzig, R. Voigtländer, 1911.

xi, [1], 338 p. 23½ cm. (Half-title: Beiträge zur kultur- und universalgeschichte; hrsg. von K. Lamprecht. 14. hft.)

189. Winsor, Justin. Narrative and critical history of America. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and co., 1884-89.

8 v. front., illus., ports., maps. 32 cm. The critical essays on sources of information and notes are invaluable. Vols. 1-2 Aboriginal America, and Spanish settlements in America relate more particularly to Hispanic America.

190. Zahm, John Augustine. Following the conquistadores. New York and London, D. Appleton and company, 1910-16.

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Bibliography at end of each vol.

(To be continued)

THE PRESS OF MEXICO

The story of the press of Mexico is a narrative of dissolutions. Disturbed conditions—economic, political and social—are reflected in every character of publication, including pamphlets and books. Nearly all are controversial or didactic—written with a purpose; and reinforce fairly in point of time and circumstance the briefer attitudes of the press. A few poets and novelists have risen above the dust of things, but scarcely a historian or publicist can be said to have freed himself from his broken environment.

There have existed in Mexico no journals of importance, save in the capital of the country. The papers of the metropolis have supplied the general current of news, although in meager measure, for, without exception, local news has always been of primary concern. This is not difficult to understand when it is recalled that Mexico is a primitive country, and that its reading public numbers perhaps not more than 1,000,000 souls, or approximately seven per cent of the population. With the exception of the Occidental of Guadelajara there is today scarcely a paper outside of the City of Mexico worthy of mention. Saltillo, Monterrey, Chihuahua, Torreon, Vera Cruz, Tampico, to be sure, have had their newspapers—and have today—but the above characterization still holds true in general.

Prior to the Diaz régime there existed no press in Mexico in the true sense of the word. There was no news-gathering agency in the country, and the foreign associations still held aloof. As a matter of fact, the conditions prerequisite to the successful exploitation of newspapers were lacking. Most of the so-called journals have been little more than bulletins, and appeared and disappeared with the political irregularities of the times. But the rule which Diaz imposed was well adapted to the habits of the Mexicans, and one phase of the development inaugurated under him was reflected in a fairly organized press, which assumed a dignity and voice not hitherto known. The first daily of importance, published at a low price, was the Noticioso (1890) of Angel Pola. It leaned more or less to the publication of sensational matter, but even so, it expired in 1896. Contemporaneously there were issued in Mexico El Siglo XIX, El Partido Liberal, El Monitor Republicano, El Nacional. The latter-not to be confused with El Nacional of today—is worthy of notice. It was directed by Gregorio Aldasoro, of marked liberal tendencies. The editors engaged by him were able and their editorials were widely read, though chiefly by the higher classes; but decay came in due season, and then dissolution.

El Universal, an afternoon paper, was founded in the nineties by one of the most distinguished of Mexican editors, Rafael Reyes Spíndola, now an expatriate. El Universal came to be the most widely read paper in the republic, and was followed by all classes of society. At the height of its influence it was bought by Ramón Prida, who associated with him in its management Luis del Toro and Eusebio Sánchez. But the masterly touch of Spíndola was lacking, and in 1902 El Universal vanished.

Spíndola, when he had parted company with El Universal did not leave the journalistic stage, and in 1896, El Imparcial—a daily dedicated to general news—was founded. It was sold at two centavos, a price made possible through a subsidy endowment from the government. The reduced price, as well as the merit of the paper, contributed to its rapid growth. It became the semi-official organ of the Diaz, or Científico, party, and prospered accordingly. Spíndola also established and published from the same office an afternoon paper called El Mundo, the title of which was early changed to El Heraldo. Here he maintained the standards and principles of El Imparcial.

In this earlier period, a paper of influence was *El Tiempo*, which represented the clerical interests and harked back to a time when the Church had been a potent factor in formulating the fortunes of the State. It was popularly supposed to be subsidized by the Clerical party; and was, in a sense, an opposition organ, although its criticism of the government was more or less innocuous, for it feared the doubled fist of Diaz. *El Tiempo*, however, slowly lost caste, and in 1904 was supplanted with the Church faction by *El Pais*, although the latter was ever regarded as addressing itself too much to the lower classes. It was, indeed, in spite of its radical tendencies, much more of a newspaper than *El Tiempo*; but both suffered decline in the faithless atmosphere of the day, and came to be but names.

It cannot be said that there existed an opposition press in the time of Diaz, for, as rabid periodicals emerged, they were suppressed. The ruler of Mexico extirpated without unction all hostile publications. Such a fate befell the Voz de Jaurez of Paulino Martínez, revolutionist of red tendencies. And, too, La Tarántula, envenomed, reached a bitter end. Tilin-Tilin sounded its small alarm and was throttled. The paper by this name of today carries but a faint echo of the tocsin sounded by the first. El Diario del Hogar, of Ficomena Mata, was mildly in opposition, but Diaz, out of old friendship, permitted it to criticise until it expired from natural causes. Perhaps the best known

opposition paper was *El Demócrata*, owned by José Ferrél, later a candidate for governor of Sinaloa. Diaz tolerated its criticisms for a time, but Ferrél's path was not long one of roses; soon the jail, *incomunicado*, cut off his activities. The same end befell the group which issued for a season *La República*—a group later to be distinguished in the political upheavals of the country. Madero was a member of it.

After the turn of the century, the gilded empire of Diaz came more and more to excite the cupidity and envy of ambitious politicians and schemers. Almost without exception they professed to embrace the political tenets of the president, for it was indeed only through such camouflaged method that one might vent his opposition. There were, however, a few who quietly posed as standing out against the invincible Diaz. Aspirants to the political succession became more and more active, and each endeavored to establish an "organ"; but it can be said positively that scarcely a man in Mexico expected to see any change in the ruling dispensations, so long as the great Dictator lived. So, schemers and politicians alike builded against the day when Death should conquer the mighty soul that had brought peace and prosperity to a land which had known but chaos since the expulsion of the Spaniards.

Of the aspiring ones, Creel of Chihuahua-prominent banker and sometime Minister of Foreign Relations and Ambassador to the United States—developed a journal that should speak for him, El Diario. It was edited by Ernesto Simondetti, a man of intelligence; and Creel was much exploited. His chief competitor was Ramón Corral, who purposely had been made vice-president on account of his insignificance. His mouthpiece was El Debate, and it came to be soundly hated because of its vitriolic attacks on men and measures. The president, however, gave the matter of political rivalries no special concern, because, at the moment, he considered the contentions of his friends more or less trivial. He did, indeed, overlook the significance of his relation to Corral, who, in the public eye, loomed large because of the fact that he appeared to be silhouetted in the shadow of the giant: and that public realized, as Diaz himself did not, that the giant towering mightily on the horizon would soon wend his way into the dark. In a word, Diaz was old, and the crafty man of that earlier time now shrank into the converging corridors at life's end; but grandly, as a king would he go to that end.

For several years he planned what proved to be the crowning event of his political career—the Centennial of 1910, in celebration of the outbreak of the revolution against Spain, which eventuated in Mexican independence. He enlisted the press in a country-wide campaign, and right royally it responded. The newspapers that really counted at this time were: El Pais, El Diario, El Imparcial, and the Mexican Herald. The latter was published in English and had for several years been regarded as the mouthpiece, not only of the American colony, but also of the progressive elements in Mexico. It enjoyed a wide circulation and carried much more news and advertising matter than any of the Mexican journals. It received daily about ten thousand words from the Associated Press, which only the Imparcial shared. It carried telegraphic news on its front page and filled its inside columns with accounts of commercial and mining enterprises, railroad and irrigation projects, with histories of the doings of functionaries, and interviews with prominent personages. A deal of space was given to sports, but none to the police courts. In a word, The Herald was a modern journal. It had been preceded in Mexico by the Two Republics, a daily published in the nineties. This sheet had really paved the way for the Herald. Also, account must be taken of the Daily Record. an afternoon paper financed by Ham, of the defunct United States Banking Company. It was published for a few years, expiring in 1910, with the crash of the above-named institution.

In marked contrast, the Mexican dailies devoted their front pages to local affairs, which was indicative of the fact that the mass of the people cared little about foreign news, particularly since it dealt mostly with American matters. Large cuts ornamented these front pages, depicting social and political events of importance. Further, the rule then prevailed of placing editorials on the *front* page. The inside space was filled with the barest possible accounts of foreign affairs, prominence being given to news from Spain.

Such, then, was the state of the press when President Diaz threw open the gates upon the brilliant Centennial, little suspecting that the tiny cloud on the horizon to the north was to develop into a storm which should sweep him from his high position. Madero, half idealist and half madman, with a handful of adherents crossed the Rio Grande while still applause rolled through the streets of the capital, and almost before the echoes of that applause had expired, Porfirio Diaz—general, statesman, and builder of Mexico—was weighing anchor in Vera Cruz, not again to see his native land.

Under the wings of the Madero revolution—with his promise of "liberty of the press"—a new era dawned. While most of the old newspapers continued in existence for the time being, mildly in oppo-

sition, their eyes were cast backward; the future augured ill. Like noxious mushrooms rabid sheets sprang up, and soon were scattering their seed far and near. First may be mentioned the *Nueva Era*, Madero's organ, which uttered parrot phrases and empty nothings on the great revolution which had been achieved. With inarticulate irony the walls of the fire-gutted building, whence the *Nueva Era* was issued, stand today full of gunshot wounds.

Following the Nueva Era, in due course came El Antere-Eleccionista, which adopted for its title Madero's slogan of "no re-election"; and El Sol, La Tribuna, and México Nuevo. Forthwith editors and pamphleteers, none too well prepared for their profession, began attacking this or that iniquity promiseuously.

On October 12, 1911, were established La Prensa and the Daily Mexican. The former was frankly an opposition organ, and it was current rumor that when these papers got hard up for cash the editors would write particularly savage paragraphs and send them in advance to the Madero government, which promptly paid the price and suppressed them. However, both journals were short-lived. El Mañana was another radical sheet, basking in the sun of liberty of the press. It attacked Madero viciously, and even did not permit his ministers to escape; and it may be said that his loss of prestige was due in no small measure to these uncurbed diatribes. Also the Multicolor, an illustrated weekly, vented bitter satire on the president who had promised, it said, every man an hacienda and ended by giving him a stone. The caricatures were cleverly conceived and did their share in bringing about the end of the Maderistas.

Pino-Suárez, vice-president under Madero, imitating the fashion set by Mexican politicians, soon had *El Intransigente* in full panoply. No paper was ever founded in the republic with more prophetic title; and, it may be added, none more richly deserved a hurried flight. Then came *El Independiente*, established by the wealthy Braniff family, who saw in one of its members a possible future candidate for the presidency.

But Mexican politics go by no fixed rules, and the friends of the *Maderistas*—the mild mannered revolutionists who had shaken out the *Cientificos*—were ruthlessly smashed, in February, 1913, through the revolt of Félix Diaz and Victoriano Huerta. The ten tragic days of the *Cuartelazo* ended the régime which had come to represent but a modified form of *Cientificismo*. Truly, the Madero rule had brought but a change in political guardians, for, once in power, the newcomers found that the only hope of survival lay in taking over, as far as possible, the machinery and the principles of the great Diaz.

Huerta was still more reactionary. He arrived on the scene in characteristic Mexican style, a style which has varied little since it was inaugurated by Iturbide and perfected by Santa Anna. Huerta found El Imparcial, El Independiente, El Diario, La Nación, El Pais, the Mexican Herald, the Courier du Mexique, and El Correo Español ready to serve his ends. While they had not been mild in their criticisms of Madero, they were scornfully bitter in their attacks on Venustiano Carranza, from Cuatro Ciénegas. But whatever the merits or demerits of the Huerta coup d'état, the attitude of the government of the United States marked it for destruction.

When Carranza's forces first reached Mexico City in the fall of 1914, they immediately took over the plant of El Imparcial and issued from it a paper called El Mexicano. They seized El Pais and published from its presses La Opinión, and also appropriated the plant of El Diario and began to issue a sheet called El Demócrata, under the direction of Rafael Martínez—not to be confused with the earlier journal of that name.

When a few months later Villa and Zapata drove Carranza to Vera Cruz, they took over the abovenamed journals and issued for themselves El Liberal, El Monitor, El Radical, and El Norte. This leaves out of count several twice-a-week papers; but at once, on Carranza's return to the capital, the former papers were reëstablished, and in addition El Pueblo was called into existence. Also, there was founded by Dr. Atl, El Acción Mundial, with principles avowedly socialistic. So rabid, indeed, were its paragraphs that soon Carranza could no longer support them, and expelled Atl from the country. Carranza. the boasted friend of the press, and sponsor for its liberty, now began his career of smashing opposition, and he even surpassed in some respects the so-called tyrannical régime of the Científicos. The Mexican Herald, the best known journal in the republic, having been issued from Vera Cruz during the American intervention, was forbidden to resume publication in the capital or any other city of the republic. So today the only paper in the country published in English is a weekly at Tampico.

In 1916, Felix Palavicini, former minister of Public Instruction in the Carranza Cabinet, established *El Universal* with pro-ally tendencies. On account of the fearlessness, candor, and intellectual texture of the Palavicini editorials, his paper at once gained a wide influence; but because of its strictures on the government it fell under the displeasure of the administration. Accordingly, his paper was closed in

April, 1917. Later, an adjustment was made and it resumed publication, but in May, 1918, matters again came to a climax, and Palavicini was informed that he would be killed if he did not leave the country. After two or three warnings, he sold his interest in the paper, and to a member of Carranza's cabinet, according to rumor. At all events he left Mexico. The paper—emasculated, and under German influence—continued to function under the direction of José Ugarte; but since the war's end it has changed its tone.

Scarcely was Palavicini over the border when the editor of *El Redención*, an opposition organ, was notified similarly that his life was in danger; but he persisted in his ways, and at the end of May, 1918, a desperate attempt was made to destroy him. The authors of these atrocious acts are not easily located, but the fact remains that the boasted "liberty of the press" in Mexico under Carranza became something less than the text implies.

At the moment there are being published in the capital four papers of some significance: El Universal, El Excelsior, El Pueblo, and El Demócrata. Of these, the first has been characterized; the second is the cleanest and the only strictly pro-ally paper in Mexico. El Pueblo, ostensibly neutral, is in effect anti-American; the last, until the Germans had been beaten, was venomously germanophile and while the war was in progress, had much to say against the United States.

Keeping company with the anti-ally El Democrata, were the midday papers, El Boletín de la Guerra and La Defensa, each of which was friendly to Germany. The afternoon paper, El Nacionalista, was also pro-German. But, as though this were not enough, twice a week the Germans published the Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico and Informaciones Inalambricas. These sheets held up to ridicule the Americans and their puny efforts in the war; the allies, they represented, were but laughingstocks, while the Germans were conquering the world.

The press of Mexico, as a whole then, has been and is dependent on the favor of the ruling powers. But more important still has been the matter of finances. All have had to struggle to make ends meet; and nearly all have failed. The clientele has been limited; and business has hertofore not been so organized as to make use of the press to any great extent for advertising purposes. What with a narrow reading public and lack of demand for advertising space, the situation is difficult enough. Probably the reading audience of the whole of Mexico is smaller than that of Boston, and more papers are published in New York City in a day than in the entire republic in a year.

While the war was in progress the question of print paper came to be of vital concern in Mexico. None could be brought from Europe; the supply was dependent on the United States. We limited the export, and there nearly arose a crisis on this account. We would have been justified in cutting off all supplies, for the black-listed Germanophile Demócrata was able—through using the semi-official organ, El Pueblo, as a screen—to supply itself with paper. This was made possible through the intervention of the Mexican Government.

It is not easy to forecast the future of the press in Mexico. However, so long as financial uncertainties and internal disorders continue, there can be no substantial progress. The United States is vitally interested in a prosperous, happy Mexico, with whom it would live in peace. Unfortunately, the Mexican press has served to accentuate at times the expression of unfriendly feeling against the United States and this quite naturally found some echo in this country. What the new régime will bring forth can as yet be only conjecture. A sober thinking and earnest Mexican press that refuses to be swept from its moorings can accomplish much for both Mexico and the United States.

WALTER F. McCALEB.

NOTES

LIST OF ECONOMIC ITEMS REFERRING TO HISPANIC AMERICA

Items published in Commerce Reports, March 1-June 30, 1920, are as follows:

Additional ships for Patagonian trade. No. 139, June 14.

Advertising American goods by motion pictures in Nicaragua. No. 108, May 7.

Aerial transport service for the West Indies. No. 75, March 30.

Agricultural products exported from British Guiana. No. 97, April 24. American advertising in Argentina. No. 99, April 27.

American Commercial Attaché Appointed for Chile. No. 74, March 29. American construction materials needed by Brazil. No. 118, May 18.

American Loan to Bolivia. No. 109, May 8.

Americans purchase Mexican sugar plantations. No. 67, March 20.

Argentina as an automobile market. No. 88, April 14.

Argentine crop prospects. No. 59, March 11.

Argentina's building program. No. 83, April 8.

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Argentina's export trade during 1919. No. 54, March 5. Id., during January, 1920. No. 88, April 14.

Argentine cereal crop production estimates. No. 103, May 1.

Argentine embargo on wheat and flour. No. 136, June 10.

Argentine export duties for April. No. 85, April 10. Id., for June. No. 132, June 5.

The Argentine fuel market. No. 142, June 17.

Argentine market for canned salmon. No. 140, June 15.

Argentine president urges loans to Europe. No. 94, April 21.

Argentine students in aviation sail for New York. No. 88, April 14.

Argentine surplus of maize for export. No. 131, June 4.

Argentine trade notes. No. 136, June 10.

Bahia cocoa shipments. No. 132, June 5.

Bids desired for installing telephone system in Uruguay. No. 95, April 22.

Bids for charter of former German ships in Cuba. No. 145, June 21.

Bids for wireless station in Venezuela. No. 103, May 1.

Bolivia and Ecuador as automobile markets. No. 150, June 26.

Bolivian export duty on hides. No. 130, June 3.

Boston University establishes branch in Havana, Cuba. No. 147, June 23.

Brazilian consular invoice regulations. No. 89, April 15.

The Brazilian state of Matto Grosso. No. 77, April 1.

Buenos Aires branch of American Foreign Banking Corporation. No. 141, June 16.

Business conditions in Argentina. No. 148, June 24.

Cable laid from Montevideo to Rio de Janeiro. No. 88, April 14.

Census taking in Brazil. No. 80, April 5.

Census of Federal district of Venezuela. No. 96, April 23.

Chilean Government to buy rolling stock. No. 67, March 20.

Circulation of paper money in Mexico. No. 83, April 8.

City improvements for Buenos Aires. No. 67, March 20.

Coconut and cohune production in Mexico. No. 64, March 17.

Coffee exports for February from Maracaibo, Venezuela. No. 72, March 26.

Coffee exports from Maracaibo during January. No. 65, March 18. *Id.*, during February. No. 114, May 14. *Id.*, during April. No. 145, June 21.

Coffee exports from Salina Cruz for January. No. 60, March 12.

Coffee exports from Salina Cruz to United States. No. 148, June 24.

Colombians to study telegraphy in London under Marconi fellowships. No. 101, April 29.

Colon-Cristobal steamship lines extending their service. No. 148, June 24.

Commercial and private failures in Argentina during 1919. No. 59, March 11.

The Commercial district of Barranquilla, Colombia. No. 16, May 17.

The Commercial district of Bucaramanga, Colombia. No. 130, June 3.

The Commercial district of Cali, Colombia. No. 95, April 22.

The Commercial district of Tumaco, Colombia. No. 126, May 28.

Comparison of expenses of foreign and domestic corporations in Brazil. No. 108, May 7.

Confectionery situation in Argentina. No. 51, March 2.

Confirmation of Mexican export embargo on hides. No. 61, March 13. Congestion in the port of Rosario. No. 146, June 22.

Continuation of Brazilian preference tariff to the United States. No. 65, March 18.

Corrected figures for exports of petroleum from Mexico. No. 89, April 15.

The cost of living in Argentina. No. 83, April 8.

Cost of transporting wheat from Argentina to Malmo. No. 124, May 26.

Creation of Brazilian bureau of cotton culture. No. 146, June 22.

Credits opened for the Central of Brazil Railway. No. 138, June 12.

Current items from Latin America. No. 55, March 6.

Current reports from trade commissioners in Latin America. No. 68, March 18.

Customs declaration on packages for Colombia. No. 130, June 3.

Damage to cotton fields in Mexico. No. 97, April 24.

Declared exports from Bahia to the United States for 1919. No. 138, June 12.

Decline in price of hides and skins in Mexico. No. 65, March 18.

Economic situation in Argentina. No. 61, March 23; No. 111, May 11. Effect of peace conditions on canned meat industry of Uruguay. No. 65, March 18.

The Electrification of a Brazilian railway. No. 150, June 26.

Entries for Argentine livestock exhibition. No. 140, June 15.

Exhibition of American products in Buenos Aires. No. 76, March 31.

Exhibition of American products in Buenos Aires postponed. No. 139, June 14.

Export duty on wheat and wheat products in Argentina. No. 141, June 16.

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Exports from Isle of Pines to United States. No. 96, April 23.

Exports from Nicaragua for the first half of 1919. No. 65, March 18.

Exports of crude rubber from Brazil and Peru. No. 116, May 17.

Exports of rubber from Brazil and Peru during April. No. 147, June 23.

Exports to United States for January from Cartagena, Colombia. No. 105, May 4.

Exposition of British products in Peru. No. 71, March 25.

Fifty fold increase in American textile sales to Argentina. No. 116, May 17.

Final figures on Argentine sugar crop. No. 56, March 8.

Financing exports to Mexico. No. 144, June 19.

The Flour-milling industry of Argentina. No. 92, April 19.

Foreign branches of American banks. No. 146, June 22.

Foreign markets for agricultural machinery (Cuba). No. 63, March 16.

Foreign market for soaps and soap-making materials. No. 69, March 23.

Foreign tariffs. No. 77, April 1; Nos. 103, 106, 113, May 1, 5, 13; Nos. 130, 144, 145, 146, June 3, 19, 21, and 22.

Foreign trade of Panama for February. No. 130, June 3.

Foreign trade service in Para, Brazil, No. 124, May 26.

German goods arriving in Argentina. No. 83, April 8.

Good prospects for garbanzo crop in Sonora. No. 60, March 12.

Government project for sanitation of principal cities of Peru. No. 61, March 13.

Guatemalan trade returns for 1919. No. 78, April 2.

High-grade petroleum deposits of Neuquen, Argentina. No. 57, March 9.

Import trade of Ecuador. No. 88, April 14.

Importers to Latin America. No. 138, June 12.

Imports into Ciudad Juarez during January. No. 101, April 29.

Imports of coal at Rio de Janeiro during first quarter of 1920. No. 134, June 8.

Imports of fire brick into Argentina. No. 57, March 9.

Imports of petroleum products into Venezuela. No. 125, May 27.

Improved service on Mexican railways. No. 147, June 23.

Increase of maximum weight of parcel post to Panama. No. 85, April 10.

Increased Mexican export duties on petroleum. No. 106, May 5.

Indications of petroleum near Matamoros, Mexico. No. 129, June 2.

Industrial education in Argentina. No. 146, June 22.

Initial shipment of German goods reaches Santo Domingo. No. 127, May 24.

Inspection of foodstuffs in Argentina. No. 104, May 3.

Interest in aviation in São Paulo, Brazil. No. 73, March 27.

Iron and steel development in Brazil. No. 70, March 24.

Iron and steel development in Brazil. No. 150, June 26.

Italian steamship to ply between Venezuelan and Caribbean Sea ports. No. 122, May 24.

Items from Argentina. No. 110, May 10.

Items from Mexico. No. 60, March 12.

January-February exports of oil from Tampico district. No. 77, April 1.

Land values in the Argentine Republic. No. 78, April 2.

Latin American trade lists. No. 91, April 17; No. 121, May 22.

Latin American Trade notes. Nos. 58, 64, 69, 73, March 10, 17, 23, 27; Nos. 77, 79, 83, 86, 89, 93, 97, 101, April 1, 3, 8, 12, 15, 20, 24, 29; Nos. 106, 117, 121, 124, 126, May 5, 18, 22, 26, 28; Nos. 132, 137 and 141, June 5, 11, and 16.

Lease of Chilean Railway by British company. No. 121, May 22.

Legislation pending in Mexico. No. 73, March 27.

Limited fuel-oil supply in Argentina. No. 63, March 16.

Lists of importers in Costa Rica. No. 146, June 22.

Lists of Importers in Panama. No. 142, June 17.

Living cost in Argentina for commercial travelers. No. 71, March 25.

Loss of corn crop in Matamoros, Mexico. No. 137, June 11.

Market for American toys in Vera Cruz consular district. No. 101, April 29.

Market for brass and copper in Argentina. No. 53, March 4.

Market for cane-sugar mill supplies in Argentina. No. 144, June 19.

Market for cotton yarn in Guatemala. No. 76, March 31.

Market for machinery among coffee planters of São Paulo, Brazil, No. 61, March 13.

Market for pins in Trinidad. No. 53, March 4.

Market for ready-made clothing in Mexico. No. 97, April 24.

Membership list of American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico. No. 67, March 20.

Mexican building contracts to be let. No. 70, March 24.

Mexican commercial and industrial exposition in 1921. No. 87, April 13.

Mexican decree provides for developing oil lands. No. 70, March 24.

Mexican directory of domestic and foreign industries. No. 99, April 27.

Mexican embargo on sugar. No. 135, June 9.

Mexican export embargo on hides. No. 53, March 4.

Mexican railway increases its rates. No. 68, March 22.

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Mexican shipments of tomatoes for United States. No. 90, April 16. Mexican State suspends tax on production of garbanzos. No. 131, June 4.

Mexican sugar shipments for the United States. No. 133, June 7.

Mexican tomato shipping conditions. No. 103, May 1.

Mica deposits in the State of São Paulo, Brazil. No. 73, March 27.

Mineral production in Northern States of Brazil. No. 141, June 16.

Mines of Huanchaca-Pulacayo, Bolivia. No. 146, June 22.

Modifications of quarantine regulations in Argentina for exhibition stock. No. 134, June 8.

Motor vehicles in British Guiana. No. 133, June 7.

National live-stock exposition of Brazil. No. 111, May 11.

Need of American firms in Argentina to compete in retail trade. No. 66, March 19.

New European steamship services to Bahia. No. 138, June 12.

New French cultivators introduced into Brazil. No. 138, June 12.

New German insurance company established in Brazil. No. 117, May 18.

New import duties on drugs and chemicals in Uruguay. No. 121, May 22.

New Norwegian line to West coast of South America. No. 143, June 18. New publication gives economic survey of Brazil. No. 72, March 26. The Nitrate industry of Chile. No. 122, May 24.

Normal cacao crop predicted in Ecuador. No. 134, June 8.

Official estimate of Argentine maize crop. No. 123, May 25.

Opening of Dutch bank in Caracas, Venezuela. No. 96, April 23.

Operating the copper mines at Chuquicamata, Chile. No. 132, June 5.

Operations of the Peruvian Corporation. No. 112, May 12.

Opportunity for an American candy factory in Buenos Aires. No. 65, March 18.

Output and shipments of Chilean nitrate of soda. No. 74, March 29. Packing, billing, and shipping of merchandise to Mexico. No. 141, June 16.

Panama Canal traffic for April. No. 136, June 10.

Panama Canal traffic for January. No. 60, March 12.

Peru ratifies pan-American trade-mark convention. No. 93, April 20.

Petitions to Brazilian tariff revision committee. No. 120, May 21.

Petroleum development in Bolivia. No. 124, May 26.

Petroleum fields of Plaza Huincul, Argentina, to be exploited. No. 126, May 28.

Plan of German Import Association to purchase raw products from Brazil. No. 145, June 21.

Port charges at Isthmus of Tehuantepec. No. 128, June 1.

Position of nitrate-producing companies in Chile. No. 138, June 12.

Price of green hides in Mexico. No. 72, March 26.

Production of metals in Mexico since 1916. No. 69, March 23.

Production of petroleum in Mexico. No. 87, April 13.

Promotion of Anglo-South American trade. No. 91, April 17.

Proposed increase in Argentine export duty on wheat and wheat products. No. 131, June 4.

Proposed Northern Argentine-Chilean Railway. No. 133, June 7.

Proposed public improvements at Antofagasta. No. 126, May 28.

Proposed system of under-ground tramways in Buenos Aires. No. 134, June 8.

Public improvements needed in Costa Rica. No. 59, March 11.

Railway from Vera Cruz to Mexico City released from Government control. No. 150, June 26.

Railway strike in Guatemala. No. 138, June 12.

Rebates on freight from Brazil to Europe. No. 135, June 9.

Registration of corporations and partnerships in Peru. No. 122, May 24.

Registration of trade-marks in Peru. No. 62, March 15.

Removal of Argentine embargo on sugar. No. 124, May 26.

Resumption of French and German service to Latin America. No. 67, March 20.

River Plate meat exports. No. 61, March 13.

Sale of stock remedies in Uruguay. No. 51, March 2.

Scandinavian banks open in Rio de Janeiro. No. 63, March 16.

Shipments of Mexican tomatoes held up by railroad strike. No. 83, April 8.

Shipping conditions in the port of Habana. No. 113, May 13.

Shipping statistics for Argentina. No. 123, May 25.

Small-arms plant for Chile. No. 55, March 6.

Spanish chamber of commerce in La Paz. No. 124, May 26.

Specifications on rolling stock for Chilean railways. No 99, April 27.

Steamship fuel supplies and bunkering facilities in Argentine ports. No. 110, May 10.

Sugar crop in Colombia. No. 142, June 17.

1919-20 sugar crop of Mauritius and Reunión. No. 66, March 19.

Sugar growing in Peru. No. 124, May 26.

Suspension of permits for exportation of sugar in Mexico. No. 102, April 30.

The tanning industry in São Paulo, Brazil. No. 60, March 12.

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Tariffs of Hispanic American countries. No. 119, May 20.

Tax on products of mines in Bulgaria. No. 118, May 19.

This year's crop of Bahia cocoa. No. 112, May 12.

This year's vanilla crop of Guadeloupe. No. 130, June 3.

Three months' exports from Bahia, Brazil, to United States. No. 131, June 4.

The tobacco crop of the Dominican Republic for 1920. No. 106, May 5.

Tobacco market in Bolivia. No. 136, June 10.

Tomato crop in Sinaloa, Mexico. No. 136, June 10.

Trade conditions in Villarica, Paraguay. No. 102, April 30.

Trade notes from Argentina. No. 61, March 13.

Trade notes from Mexico. No. 104, May 3; No. 145, June 21.

Trade notes from Venezuela. No. 150, June 26.

Trade notes from the West coast of South America. No. 129, June 2.

Trade notes from the West coast of South America. No. 152, June 29.

Trade of the United States with Latin America in 1919. No. 68, March 22.

Traffic through the Panama Canal during March. No. 110, May 10.

Trinidad Government loan. No. 77, April 1.

Uruguay and Paraguay as automobile markets. No. 121, May 22.

Uruguay has large building program. No. 66, March 19.

Value of Argentine port works. No. 138, June 12.

Vegetable cil-bearing products of Trinidad. No. 63, March 16.

Venezuelan appointed to study commercial relations between Venezuela and Japan. No. 138, June 12.

Venezuelan gold fields to be made accessible. No. 147, June 23.

Venezuelan sugar production. No. 132, June 5.

War-time intervention for São Paulo coffee growers successful financially. No. 140, June 15.

Workingmen's compensation in Brazil. No. 142, June 17.

Yerba maté industry in Paruguay. No. 114, May 14.

Miss Irene A. Wright in the April issue of *The American Historical Review* presents a series of Spanish documents (with translations) entitled "Spanish policy toward Virginia, 1606–1612".

The Americas for the first five months of 1920, contains the following: January—"What the Germans are doing in South America", by Frederick Todd. February—"South American advertising"; "What Argentina requires of travelers"; "What South America will contribute

to the world's rehabilitation", by Frederick Todd. March—"Brazil's cattle industry offers splendid investment opportunities", by Murdo MacKenzie; "Venezula: one of South America's richest countries". April—"Argentina a splendid field for American money and enterprise", by Carlos A. Tornquist; "Development work on a large scale seems assured in Peru", by C. W. Calvin. May—"American cooperation assures a better era for Haiti", by John H. Allen; "Colombia pushes forward with good crops assuring prosperity", by Carlos E. Restrepo. "Mexican events warrant belief that better times are at hand"; "Porto Alegre an example of faulty method of representation"; "Rosario: one of Argentina's important business centers", by L. W. Berry; "Why exports to South America's west coast must be well packed".

The Board of Trade Journal (London) in its issue of February 26, 1920, publishes: "Brazil's foreign trade, January-September, 1919"; "Pan-American conference"; "Trade statistics and prospects in Dominican Republic".

Boletín del Archivo Nacional (Habana) in its issue for November-December, 1919, has the following: "Inventario General del Archivo de la delegación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano en Nuevo York (1892–1898)" (continued); "Cartas inéditas de Martí", by Joaquín Llaverías (editor); "Documentos para la historia nacional" (continued); and "Revista de Archivos".

No. 30 and 31 (1919), of Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla presents material as follows: "Catálogo de legajos del Archivo General de Indias. Sección Segunda. Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias" (continued); "El Hispano-Americanismo", by German Latorre; "Interesante conversación con el senador D. Luis Palomo", by F Martín Caballero; "La Real Academia Hispano-Americana de Cádiz", "Revisión y rectificación de nuestra historia colonial", by W. E. Retana.

In the April, 1920, issue of Bulletin of the Pan American Union, appear: "Agricultural instruction in Argentina", by Tomás Amadeo (trans. and condensed from Annals of the Argentine Rural Society); "Brazilian fibers", by Joseph E. Agan; "Contemporaneous Uruguayan literature", by Manuel Núñez Reguiero; "Paraguay's new era in stock raising", by Willim A Reid; "Passive exporting", by William C. Wells;

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and "The Throwing-stick of ancient Peru," by Horacio H. Urteaza. May: "Aguascalientes, Mexico", by Luther K. Zabriskie; "Argentine exports in 1919"; "Commerce of United States with Latin America"; and "Quebracho extract industry of Argentina" (transl. from Revista Forestal, Buenos Aires). June: "Arequipa, the second city of Peru", by José A. Mendoza del Solar; "Colonial residences of Mexico", by Manual Romero de Terreros; "The Launching of the Artigas"; "Moving pictures in Pan-America", by Muriel Baily; "The Palace of Alvear", by Antonio Pérez-Valiente; and "Tenth anniversary of the Pan American Union's home".

Rev. L. Oliger, O. F. M., in *The Catholic Historical Review* for April, 1920, presents "The Earliest record on the Franciscan missions in America"; and Charles E. Chapman, "The Jesuits in Baja California (1678–1768)".

Comercio Ecuatoriano (Guayaquil) for April, 1920, contains: "Adelanto y progreso de Guayaquil"; "Cultivo del cacao"; "Generos de algodon y de lana para Sudamérica"; "Ideal comercial que debe primar hoy sobre cualquier otro en el Ecuador"; Misión cultural a Bélgica y el Uruguay"; "Municipal improvements in Guayaquil, Ecuador", by Leon F. Price; "Política comercial del Perú; "El Segundo Congreso Financiero Pan-Americano".

El Estudiante Latino-Americano contains the following articles in recent issues: February—"Argentinos, vuestro esfuerzo", by Santiago A. Cuneo; "La Asociación Cristiana de Estudiantes Latino Americanos", by Oscar A. Gacitua; "Constitution of the Student Christian Association of Latin-Americans in North America"; and "Papel das Associacion Christas de Estudantes no dia de hoje", by Myron A. Clark. March—"American and Latin American" by William R. Shepherd; Una Institución que está ayudando en el desarrollo físico, mental y espiritual de la juventud Latino-Americana" by Felipe A. Conrad; and "Relações pan-Americanas", by C. S. da Nobrega. April—Experiencias dum estudante pobre nos Estados Unidos"; and "Relaciones chileno-Americanos", by Charles M. Pepper.

The Geographical Review (New York), publishes in January, 1920, an article by George McCutcheon McBride, entitled "Cotton growing in South America"; in February, one by William H. Babcock, on "Antillia

and the Antilles"; and in March, one by Robert M. Brown, on "Five years of the Panama Canal: an evaluation".

George Washington University Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, February, 1920, contains articles of interest regarding Spanish literature and Hispanic American culture. It describes the Midwinter convocation upon which occasion the degree of doctor of letters, honoris causa, was conferred upon the distinguished Spanish novelist, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez The papers are: address of President Collier in conferring the doctorate of letters upon Señor Don Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (Spanish and English); address of Señor Blasco Ibáñez, "The best Novel is the World" (Spanish and English); address of His Excellency, Señor Don Juan Riaño y Gavangos, Spanish Ambassador at Washington", The place of Spanish in the Literature of the World" (English translation); address of His Excellency, Señor Don Jacobo Varela, Uruguavan Minister at Washington, "Spanish both a Literary Language and a Language for Commercial Purposes"; article by Francisco J. Yanes, Assistant Director, Pan-American Union, "The contribution of Spanish America to Civilization": article by Prof. Henry Graltan Doyle, "The Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese in the George Washington University".— C. K. JONES.

Hispania, for May, 1920, has an article by C. Zumeta, entitled "Misiones laicas en America". The bibliographical section of this review is worth study.

Among articles in Inter-America for April, 1920, are the following: "Breviary of the Sad", by Juan Pedro Calou (translated from Ediciones Minimas, Buenos Aires, No. 4, 1916); "Hierba mate", by Andres Pigrau (translation of a pamphlet published in Asunción, Paraguay, 1918); "In front of Iguazú", by Juan Carlos Alsina (translated from Caras y Caretas, Buenos Aires, November 4, 1919); "A letter from the north", by Jesús Semprum (translated from Cultura Venezolana, Caracas, December, 1919); "Our professors of idealism in America, XII", by Julio R. Barcos (translated from Cuasimodo, Panama, November, 1919); "Peruvian landmarks", by José de la Riva Agüero (translated from Mercurio Peruano (Lima), July, 1918); "Popular housing in Argentina", by Carlos N. Coll (translated from Boletín del Museo Social Argentino, Buenos Aires, July-September, 1919); "Steps in the evolution of religion", by Fernando Ortiz (translated from Revista Bimestre Cu-

bana, Habana, March-April, 1919). In June, 1920: "Bolívar and his friends abroad", by C. Parra Pérez (translated from Cultura Venezolana, Caracas, December, 1919); "The Book trade in the southern countries of America", by Jesús Semprum (translated from La Reforma Social, New York and Habana, February, 1920); "Contemporary Uruguayan literature", by Manuel Nuñez Regueiro (translated from Nuestra América, Buenos Aires, June, 1919; "Dominican intellectual life", by Frederico García Godoy (translated from Nuestra América, July, 1919); "The Foundation of New Panama", by Juan Antonio Susto (translated from La Estrella de Panamá, January 21, 1920; "Growing the cocoanut-palm" (translated from Revista de Agricultura, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, May 1, 1919); "A Magic city in the desert (Chanaral, Chile) (translated from editorial in Revista de Gobierno Local, Santiago, Chile, October, 1919); "The Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations", by Rafael Escobar Lara (translated from Juventud, Santiago, Chile, September-October, 1919); "Motherhood", by Paulina Luisi (translated from Accion Feminina, Montevideo, November-December, 1919); "Mountain notes", by Adolfo Lanús (translated from Caras y Caretas, Buenos Aires, September 6, 1919); "A Return to the past" (translated from Revista de Revistas, México, March 21, 1920); and "Rufino José Cuervo", by J. del C. Gutiérrez (translated from Juventud, Santiago, Chile, November-December, 1919.

In recent issues Mercurio Peruano (Lima) publishes the following: February, 1920—El Carácter pacificista de la diplomacia peruana", by Pedro Yrigoyen: "La Ciudad de Lima en el siglo XVIII", by Jorge Guillermo Leguia; "Historia Nacional", by Horacio Urteaga; "La Organización Médico-Social del Perú", by Carlos Paz Soldán. March—"El Carácter pacificista de la diplomacia peruana", by Pedro Yrigoyen; "Ciertos aspectos de la rebelión de Tupac Amaru II, 1780–1781", and "Notas sobre la arqueología ecuatoriana", by Philip Ainsworth Means: "Leyendas Guaraníes", by Oriol Sole Rodríguez; and "La Cuestión de Tacna y Arica y las aspiraciones bolivianas", by E. G. Hurtado y Arias; "Fracaso de la misión Lavalle", by Pedro Yrigoyen; and "Parnaso colombiano", by Mario Carvajal.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for March, 1920, contains "Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico regarding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, 1848–1860", by J. Fred Rippy; and "An Unknown expedition to Santa Fe in 1807", by Joseph J. Hill.

Mittheilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts (Cöln): 5. Band (1917)—M. Bartolomäus, "Ansiedlung in südlichen Chili"; R. Bartolomäus, "Ausländerrecht in Brasilien"; M. Brussot, "Coelho Netto, der Wildnisdichter"; R. Campolieti, "Gründsätzliches über die Kolonisation von Argentinien"; Krum-Heller, "Mexiko"; E. Niemeyer, "Die rosige Republik"; E. Schuetze, "Cuba und die Vereinigten Staaten"; W. Knoche, "Fremde Literatur in Chile".-6. Band (1918)-E. L. Voss, "Deutschlands gegner im brasilianischen Kultur-und Wirtschaftsleben"; C. Offermann, "Technik und Wirtschaft in Argentinien"; P. T. Jataby, "Die Ortsnamen brasiliens und die Tupisprache"; J. Denker "Dr. Adolfo E. Davila".—7. Band (1919)—O. Quelle, "Die Heimstättengesetze von Argentinien und Paraguay"; O. Schmieder, "Zur Siedlungs- und Wirtschafts Geographie zentralspaniens insbesondere der Provinz Ávila"; O. Quelle, Erster Nachtrag zum verzeichnis wissenschaftlicher Einrichtungen, Zeitschriften and Bibliographien der ibero-amerikanischen Kulturwelt".

The name of the Institute was changed in 1919 to Das Deutsch-Südamerikanische und Iberische Institut. In addition to the important articles named above, the Mitteilungen contains many shorter contributions and useful reviews of current literature.

The Institute also publishes two illustrated monthlies: El Mensajero de Ultramar, v. 1-4, 1914-17, and O. Transatlantico, v. 1-4, 1914-17, and is issuing a series of Veröffentlichungen: (1) P. Gast, As Escolas Technicas Superiores de Allemanha; (2) J. C. Guerrero, La Guerra Europea; (3) O. Quelle, Verzeichnis wissenschaftlicher Einrichtungen, Zeitschriften und Bibliographien der ibero-amerikanischen Kulturwelt; (4) Alemania y la Guerra Europea; (5) J. P. Ramos, Die Bedeutung Deutschlands im europaischen Krieg; (6) J. C. Guerrero, Como Corresponsal al frente.—C. K. Jones.

The Pan-American Magazine for May, 1920, contains: "The Mexican Revolution", by G. Mandujano; "Pan-American notes", by P. W. Wilson; "The Report on Mexico (editorial)"; "Uneasy rests the head that wears a crown".

In The Pan American Review for March, 1920, are the following "Present and Future Peru", by E. D. Kiser; "Telegraphic Briefs"; and United States Chambers of Commerce in Latin American countries", by James Carson. In April, 1920, appeared: "Address before the Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce, April 8, 1920", by Carlos A.

Tornquist; "The Republic of Guatemala: Its commercial and financial possibilities", by John Clausen; "Telegraphic Briefs"; and "Trade of the United States with Latin America in 1919 (extracts from articles prepared by the Latin American Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce)". In the issue for May are the following: "Consul General Edwards entertained"; "Cuban-American Chamber of Commerce"; "Effects of the war on Brazil", by B. H. Hunnicutt; "A League of American Nations"; "A Painter of Mexico and its people (H. A. Moss)"; "Pan American advertising conference"; "Seen through Latin American eyes"; "Telegraphic Briefs"; and "Women in Latin American business".

Revista Economica (Tegucigalpa) publishes (May, 1920); "La Carrera de contador público nacional"; "El Centenario de Magallanes: un decreto del Rey (Alfonso XIII)"; "El Comercio de España con Hispano América en 1917"; "La Cuestión monetaria en El Salvador, La caja de cambio"; "La Delegación comercial Mexicana"; "Ficción económica de la riqueza creada por la guerra"; "Intellectual relations between the United States and El Salvador", by C. Meléndez, "El Labor del ministerio de Fomento de Costa Rica"; "Mensaje presidencial de El Salvador"; "El Mensaje presidencial de Nicaragua"; "Necesidad de reformas en las estadísticas centroamericanas".

The South American for April contains the following articles: "The City of the Kings (Lima)"; "Conditions in Uruguay"; "The Cost of living in Buenos Aires"; "The Cruise of the good ship Ebro"; "Diplomacy official and unofficial", by Aylwin Hallam; "French aviator's flight over the Andes"; "Million dollar blaze at Armour's new plant in Brazil"; "Modern Bolivia"; "On South American business reliability": "Our ships ready to sail. Will they be used?", by Harry Chapin Plummer; "Over the Andes from Titicaca to the Amazon"; "The Spanish American correspondents in New York", and "A Vision of the future (A time will come when Peru's most important cities will be east of the Andes". May: "Anglo-South American bank declares peace dividends"; "The Coffee production of Chile"; "Francisco de Orellana", by Isabel S. Shephard; "The History of Argentine independence", by C. W. Whittemore; "The music of the Incas"; "The Peruvian oil coast", by Harry L. Foster; "Provincial cities of the Argentine"; "South American balance of power (editorial)"; "Tacna and Arica: Bolivia's claim"; "The Unofficial capital of Venezuela", by Harry Chapin Plummer.

The South American Journal (London), contains the following material in various issues: March 6, 1920-"Anglo-South American Bank, Limited"; "Brazilian Railway tariffs"; "Fortuna Nitrate"; Guayaquil prior lien bonds"; "The Meat trade"; "The position and prospects of nitrate companies. I. The London". March 13-"Colombian progress": "Fortuna Nitrate"; "London and River Plate Bank"; "Pan-American conference"; "The Position and prospects of nitrate companies. II. The Liverpool". March 20—"Argentina's chemical trade"; "Increased Argentine imports"; "The New Tamarugal Nitrate Co. Ltd."; Peruvian import trade"; "The position and prospects of nitrate companies. III. The Pan de Azucar"; "River Plate Trust, Loan and Agency Co.". March 27—"Peruvian imports from Great Britain"; "The position and prospects of nitrate companies. IV. The Santa Catalina". April 3-"Argentina's import trade"; "La Guaira Harbour": "Nitrate results in 1918-1919"; "A Pan-American railway"; "Panama and Great Britain"; "The Position and prospects of nitrate companies. V. The Laguna Syndicate". April 10-"Brazilian budget for 1920"; "Ecuador", by George Benneville Keins; "The Mexican position"; "Molybdenium in Chile"; "The Montevideo Waterworks Co., Ltd."; "National railways of Mexico"; "The Position and prospects of nitrate companies. VI. The Santiago"; "South American market for woollen goods".

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly for April, 1920, offers: "James W. Fannin, Jr., in the Texas Revolution, III.", by Ruby Cumby Smith; "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828–1832, X.", by Eugene C. Barker; "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, III.", by A. K. Christian; and "Sebastian Vizcaino: exploration of California", by Charles E. Chapman.

Articles in recent issues of *The Statist* (London) include the following: March 6, 1920—"The Arica dispute"; South and Central America. Nitrate. II. March 13—"Argentina's railways"; Buenos Aires Great Southern Railway"; "Ecuador". March 27—"Central Argentine Railway"; "Cost of living in Argentine". April 3—"Buenos Aires and Pacific Railway". April 10—"Brazil's external trade"; "Mexico mines of El Oro"; "Need for opening up South and Central America". May 22—"Continued uncertainty in Mexico"; "Foreign trade budget of Brazil"; "Paco-paco (fiber)".

Studium, a new students' periodical published in Lima, Peru, contained the following in its initial number (December, 1919): "El Americanismo de R. Palma", by M. Prado; "El Eclipse de nuestra escuela médica" by C. E. Paz-Soldán; "El Ejército incaico", by H. H. Urteaga, "Huc-Pacha o el otro mundo incaico", by Recaredo Pérez Palma; "Llamamiento a las universidades hispanoamericanas", by Rafael Altamira; and "Nuestras grandes figuras de hoy (el doctor M. Vicente Villaran), y nuestras grandes figuras de ayer (don José Baquijano y Carrillo)" by M. Y. Rodríguez.

The Biblioteca de Historia Hispano-Americana, which has been formed in Madrid under the auspices of King Alfonso XIII. has as its object the publication of documents from Spanish archives, especially of the Archivo de Indias, relative to the Spanish colonization and government of America. This organization proposes to publish among other matters a series of documents which will show the functions and operations of the vicerovs, as well as of the governors, adelantados, and other officials of the Spanish colonial régime. In addition, there will be a series of monographs based on the unpublished documents of the archives. Among these, studies on the following subjects are noted. The Catholic Kings and the discovery of America; Adelantados and explorers of the sixteenth century; The Church in America (including the Indians; their customs, manners, rites, traditions; languages and dialects; grammar and vocabulary; unpublished narratives; system of evangelization and reduction; special studies on certain missions; foundation of bishoprics; erection of cathedrals; history of dioceses and of the religious orders); Privileges in favor of the Indians (including the Conservation of the Indians; encomiendas; protectors of the Indians: and special laws); Foundation of cities and towns (their privileges, arms, etc.); The Council of the Indies (its organization, personnel, and regulations); General organization of governments of America (viceroyalties, jurisdictions of governors, presidents, captains-general, etc., and municipal organization); The judicial power in America (foundation and organization of audiencias and chancellaries; their personnel, presidents, oidors, fiscals, counsellors, etc.; special cases): Visitors general in America (their attributes; cases originating in the exercise of their functions); War and navy (captains-general and their functions: organization and distribution of the army in the colonies; fortifications in America; cases of foreign war, civil war, and conspiracies; the war navy, its numbers, functions, combats, etc.);

Public treasury (receipts and disbursements; tribute system; statistics, etc.); Commerce, industry, agriculture (general statistics, special studies; customs, monopolies, contraband, etc.); and Mines and mining in America.

Already the first volume has been published, namely, La infanta Carlota Joaquina y la política de España en America (1802-1812). The following volumes are in press or arranged for:

Becker, Jerónimo, and José María de Rivas Groot: Nueva Granada en el Siglo XVIII.

Lozoya, Marqués de: Rodrigo de Contreras, gobernador y capitan general de Nicaragua.

Beltrán y Rózpide, Ricardo, and Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvale: Colección revisada y anotada de las memorias o relaciones que escribieron los virreyes del Perú para informar y dar su parecer acerca del estado que tenían las cosas generales del reino. This will consist of various volumes, including Antecedentes históricos y bibliográficos; Noticias y extractos de relaciones del Marqués de Cañete y de otros virreyes; Memorial del virrey D. Francisco de Toledo; Relación de D. Luis de Velasco, Marques de Salinos, a su sucesor el Conde de Monterrey; Relaciones que dió D. Juan de Mendoza, Marqués de Montesclaros, a don Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Príncipe de Esquilache; Relación de éste a D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Guadalcazar.

Blázquez y Delgado-Aguilera, Antonio: Los diez primeros virreyes de Nueva España. Memorias de sus gobiernos, etc.

Pastells, Pablo, S. J.: Las misiones en el Paraguay.

Pacheco de Leyva, Enrique: Historia de la evangelización en Nueva España (including I. Predicación del evangelio; II. Fundaciones pías: III. Colegios y universidades).

Becker, Jerónimo, and José María de Rivas Groot: Ceballos, primer virrey de Buenos Aires.

Ballesteros, Antonio: El conquistador de Chile.

The honorary president of the Biblioteca is Monsignor Francisco Francisco Ragonesi, the papal nuncio, and the ecclesiastical censor is Rev. Alfonso Torres, S.J. The directors are as follows: Conde de Cedillo (evidently the moving spirit), Antonio Ballesteros y Deretta, and José María de Rivas Groot (formerly Colombian Minister of Public Instruction and Colombian Minister to the Papal Court), all members of the Royal Academy of History. Among collaborators are the following prominent gentlemen: Duke of Alba, Angel Altolaguirre, of the Royal Academy of History: Marco A. Avellaneda, former Argentinian ambassador to Spain: Jerónimo Becker, Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide, Antonio Blázquez, Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, all members of the Royal Academy of History; José Deleito y Piñuela, pro-

fessor in the University of Valencia; Carmelo Echagaray, Eduardo Ibarra, Marquis of Lozaya, Ignacio Montes de Oca (Bishop of San Luis de Potosí and member of the Royal Spanish Academy), Enrique Pacheco de Leyba, all members of the Royal Academy of History; Rev. Pablo Pastells, S.J., the author of many works on America; Carlos Pereyra, Americanist; Simón Planas, Venezuelan minister to Portugal; Julián María Rubio; Antonio Rubio y Lluch, professor in the University of Barcelona; Duke of T'Serclaes, member of the Royal Academy of History; Francisco Urrutia, Colombian minister to Spain; and Pío Zabata, professor of history in the Central University of Madrid.

The program issued by the Biblioteca is most interesting and all students interested in the history of Hispanic America will watch eagerly for the volumes that have been promised. Both documents and monographs promise to be a welcome addition to our knowledge of the early history of America. It is to be hoped that the work will extend into Brazil, for that country has had a dynamic part in the making of Hispanic America, and its history is full of interest.

Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, director of the Department of Historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in his annual report for 1919, describes the compiling of the Bandelier transcripts now in course of execution by Dr. Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas, as follows:

In the matter of the transcripts made in Seville for the Carnegie Institution by the late Dr. Adolph F. Bandelier, much progress has been made by Dr. Hackett and his assistants, though the task is not yet completed. A year ago all the work of copying for the printer had been finished. The amount of text, after deduction of some matter which had already been printed, was about 405,000 words. It happened that certain documents in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, certain others in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library at Chicago, and a group from the Bancroft Library in the possession of the University of California would helpfully supply gaps in the various series of documents transcribed by Dr. and Mrs. Bandelier. The addition of a moderate number of these was accordingly authorized. The respective custodians of these collections kindly permitted the desired papers to be transcribed. The total amount of text has thus been raised to about 460,000 words, enough to make two volumes of the Institution's publications, to which the translations would add two more. All but about 50,000 words of this material had been translated into English by the end of September. The work of translating will soon be completed. That of editing the documents and writing the introductions for the several groups into which they have been divided has been held back by two removals on Dr. Hackett's part, two attacks of illness, and the imposition of new duties at the University of Texas from which he could not escape. It will, however, not be very long before the first half of this work will be finished, an amount sufficient to constitute two volumes of print.

Sr. D. Domingo Amunátegui, Rector of the University of Chile, is just finishing an important work on the history of Chilean literature.

Professor Isaac J. Cox of Northwestern University, has gone to Colombia, where he will spend some weeks.

Dr. Julius Klein, who has been on leave of absence from Harvard University for some time, as Chief of the Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and Commercial Attaché at Buenos Aires for the same Bureau, is leaving government service to resume his university duties. He has been promoted to an Associate professorship. Dr. Klein was one of the lecturers at the Pan American Summer School of Foreign Trade in Washington.

Professor Charles E. Chapman, who is exchange professor in Chile this year, has taken up his work in the Instituto Pedogógico. He is conducting a class as a seminar in methods of history, and is giving considerable attention to bibliography and "field" or "laboratory" work in the preparation of a technical historical volume. The class is treating the last three decades of the eighteenth century in Chilean colonial history as the material around which to group its work. catalogue will be prepared of a very important and hitherto unexplored set of papers. A tentative title of the volume will be Chile en Vísperas de la Independencia. Catálogo del Copiador de los Capitanes-Generales a Fines del Siglo Diez i ocho. The "Copiador" consists of two sets of volumes: one the correspondence of the captains-general with the authorities in Spain (via reservada from 1770-1796; the other. the *órdenes* of the captains-general to the various provincial governors of Chile from 1781-1804. The former contains slightly over 2,700 letters and the latter about 18,000. Dr. Chapman says that the letters of the first set at least will all be listed, and some of the second. In the second set are 115 letters sent to the governors of the Juan Fernández Islands. These are especially interesting for the history of California, for these islands were the stopping place of the numerous foreign ships which continued thence on their way to the Northwest coast. The letters are long and appear to have been written with care.

Licentiate Ezequiel A. Chaves, a leading Mexican scholar, is the author of a Manual de Organización de Archivos, which was published in the City of Mexico in the present year. The Manual evolved from its first conception "as a simple exposition of the ideas which were used in organizing a system of decimal classification of the documents of the Department of Industry, Commerce, and Labor" of Mexico into a wider plan that might embrace the classification of all the documents of all the large administrative units of the country. The Manual (which outlines a decimal system) will doubtless be fully considered and used by archivists and librarians. The first part of the treatise discusses "Classification and annotation of documents"—A. "Analvsis of the documents based on the nature and relations of the administrative institutions," and B. "Classification of documents according to their subject matter"; "Distribution and arrangement of documents and the conservation of the same"; "Of the proper methods for finding documents". The second and third parts discuss the care of documents until they are placed in a general archives. The work is scientific and scholarly and shows much erudition.

The Argentina scholar, Ricardo Levene, of the Board of American History and Numismatics, and Professor of History of Secondary Institutes and Universities of the country, has recently published the fifth revised edition of his Lecciones de Historia Argentina, in Buenos Aires, at the house of J. Lajouane & Cía. The two volumes treat respectively of the Colonial period and the Period of national emancipation and organization. The introduction by Joaquin V. González, prefixed to the first edition of 1912, as well as the preface to the first addition by the author, and a preface to this new edition precede the text. A welcome addition to the fifth edition is a chapter on sources. The work is intended for use as a textbook. These volumes will be reviewed in a later issue of this periodical. They form a work that should be read by all students of Hispanic America.

Joseph Byrne Lockey has recently published through Macmillan Company, a volume entitled *Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings*. Professor Lockey divides the history of Pan-Americanism into three periods: the first, embracing the years of revolution and of the formation of new states, and extending to about 1830; the second covering the succeeding three or four decades to the close of the Civil War; and the third extending from the Civil War to the present time. The work

was undertaken and carried to completion as an academic task at Columbia University, under the direction and counsel of Professor John Bassett Moore. A discussion of this volume will appear shortly in this Review.

Sr. D. J. Toribio Medina, of Chile, is busy on a book on Magellan in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the first circumnavigator which will be celebrated next year.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin, of Leland Stanford Jr., University, is contributing a chapter on Brazil to the Spanish edition of Simonds' History of the War to be published by Doubleday, Page, and Company. During the coming year, Dr. Martin expects to publish a volume on "Hispanic America and the War." In the collection of material for this work, Dr. Martin is having most excellent coöperation from scholars in Hispanic America.

Plus Ultra (New York) in its issue for April, 1920, contains an article by J. Prado Rodríguez, entitled "¿Hispano América? . . . Si; ¿América Latina? . . . No".

Sr. D. A. Collao, owner and editor of La Prensa of New York, is starting a weekly periodical in Santiago, Chile, under the name, América. The first number was scheduled to appear on July 4, but the date was postponed owing to the elections in Chile. It is reported that Dr. Charles E. Chapman will have an article in the first number.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

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- De Bekker, L. J.: The plot against Mexico. New York, A. A. Knopf [1919?]. Pp. 295.
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